

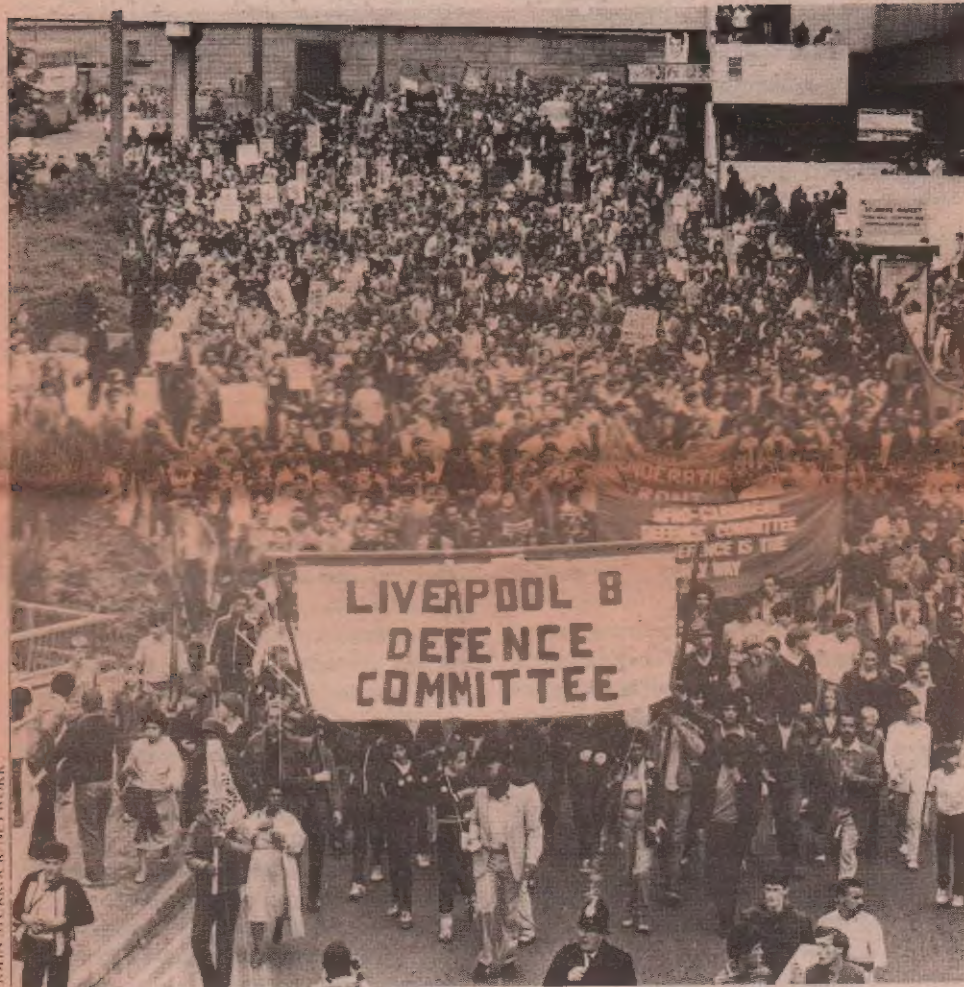
FIGHT RACISM!

FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

Issue No 12 September 1981 Price 20p

HANDS OFF ANGOLA



Since the beginning of June, the South African Defence Force (SADF), with the complicity of US and British imperialism, has been engaged in a major act of military aggression against revolutionary Angola. The MPLA government of Angola stands as a solid barrier to imperialism's efforts to hurl back the advances of the southern African revolution. It has given unbending support to the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) fighting to rid Namibia of South African occupation. It has given its support to the African National Congress (South Africa). And using its rich oil reserves and rail network it is trying to eliminate the Frontline African states' dependence upon apartheid and imperialism. For its valiant internationalist stand, and in particular for its support for SWAPO, it has been subjected to apartheid's bloody war machine.

The SADF invasion of Angola on 25 August was preceded, in June, by 175 reconnaissance flights, 3 airborne assaults, nine air bombings, five ground attacks and numerous kidnappings. In July SADF forces pushed 90 miles into Angola bombing food convoys and destroying the villages of Hunge, Camuola, Muandi and Conga. On 17 and 18 August, South African bombers strafed two civilian buses and on 23 August completely destroyed the towns of Cahama and Tchibemba. The imperialist press only took up the story of South African aggression when two militarised SADF columns moved 120 miles into Angola on 25 August. As the South African troops passed across the southern provinces of Cunene, Kuando, Kubango and Mocamedes, they killed, burnt and destroyed everything in their way. Using air force cover they destroyed

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FREE THE BRADFORD TWELVE

By charging 12 Asian activists in Bradford with conspiracy to cause damage by fire or explosions and conspiracy to cause grievous bodily harm the British state has launched one of its most serious attacks yet against the revolutionary fightback being led by black people.

The charges facing the 12 carry a possible life sentence and are the most serious arising from the recent uprisings throughout the country. The state has carefully chosen its target. Some of the 12 are supporters of the United Black Youth League and have been leading and public activists in the struggle to defend black people from the state's racist onslaught. They gave determined support to the Anwar Ditta campaign, as a result of which the state, having refused entry to Anwar's children for six years suffered a humiliating defeat and was forced to let them into Britain. They were active also in the campaigns to defend Jaswinder Kaur and Gary Pemberton.

continued on page 5

REVOLUTIONARY —UNITY—

Imperialism in its rapacious drive for profits has divided the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. In the oppressed nations, the poverty and starvation suffered by millions has forced the people into revolutionary war to drive out the imperialists. The people look to the IRA/INLA in Ireland, ANC/SWAPO in Southern Africa, PLO in Palestine, PMOI/OIPFG in Iran, FMLN in El Salvador and many other revolutionary movements fighting imperialism. These represent the vanguard forces of millions of people in the struggle to destroy imperialism throughout the world.

It is of little surprise that under the banner of anti-communism, British and US imperialism are at the forefront of the imperialist alliance to crush these revolutionary forces. And it is the socialist countries, themselves under assault from imperialism, who, led by the Soviet Union, have consistently come to the aid of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. Never has it been more clear that the world is divided between those forces fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism and those wealthy imperialist nations intent on crushing them.

Not only does imperialism divide the world into oppressor and oppressed nations but it also divides the working class. It creates in the imperialist country a privileged layer of the working class, which, through its relatively prosperous and secure conditions of existence, becomes separated from the mass of the working class. Most significantly, imperialism has created within the imperialist nations an oppressed layer of the working class. Forced out of the oppressed nations by the poverty and starvation imposed by imperialism, immigrant workers and their descendants have

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MONTHLY FRFI

All readers of FRFI will be pleased to see that from this issue onwards FRFI is a monthly. FRFI has appeared every two months for two years. In that time it has established a regular readership not only amongst the working class in Britain but also in Ireland, the USA and this month has even had three orders from Australia.

Readers will know that FRFI is a vital weapon in the struggle to build a communist movement in Britain.

Now that FRFI is monthly we need your help more than ever. It is essential that the monthly FRFI not only survives but extends its coverage and distribution. To do this we need the active support of our readers. Make your commitment now!

- Take 20, 50 or more copies to sell to your friends, workmates or at meetings.
- Take out a subscription and encourage others to do the same.
- Send us money and do it regularly.
- Write for FRFI. Letters and articles are welcomed. Report on events in your area! Become an FRFI correspondent!

INSIDE

South Africa	page 3
Uprisings: Liverpool, Chapelton, Wolverhampton	pages 4 & 5
Iran, Central America, Caribbean	page 7
The Communist Tradition on Ireland. The IRA goes on the offensive	pages 8, 9, 10
Morning Star debate - IRA and ANC Notes and Comments	page 11
Irish people against imperialism Reports from Ireland	page 12 page 13
RCG FRFI monthly round-up Letters	pages 14 & 15
Hands Off Ireland	page 16

Revolutionary Unity

continued from page 1

become a super-exploited section of the working class. By this process imperialism has sown the seeds of its own destruction. For, as the recent uprisings in Britain show, it is the black working class that has taken the path of revolutionary struggle and in so doing has joined the struggle being waged by anti-imperialist movements worldwide. In fighting against the imperialist state and its protectors, the police, black workers are giving a lead which, in some areas, has been readily followed by white working class youth – themselves increasingly recognising that the capitalist system offers them nothing but unemployment, poverty and despair.

Imperialism means poverty, oppression and starvation for the vast majority of the world's people. And as the crisis of imperialism deepens the same fate is approaching whole sections of the working class within the imperialist countries. Growing opposition to imperialism is inevitable. Increasingly its very existence will be threatened. Imperialism will then turn to its major supporters in the working class – the privileged sections of organised labour, and their political and trade union representatives. In Britain this means the Labour Party and TUC. Without their leadership of the workers imperialism would not survive. This is the significance of the Labour movement's pathetic and purposely limited response to the 3 million unemployed and the cuts in living standards imposed by the Thatcher government. What these leaders have done has been designed to contain militant struggle and the compromises over jobs and wages have been made with that in mind.

But the leadership of the Labour Party and TUC does not extend over the black and white youth, who this summer have taken their anger on to the streets. That is why the ruling class has responded with direct and vicious repression. They know that they must isolate and crush these emerging revolutionary forces before they draw more sections of the working class behind them and become too strong.

Alongside the repression on the streets and in the courts has gone the condemnation of the uprisings by the Labour and trade union leadership. They also wish to isolate these forces before it is too late and the spirit behind the uprisings spreads to other sections of the working class. So Len Murray, head of the TUC, warns his followers:

'Violence is no solution to the problems of the inner cities and I condemn those who have used it'.

Len Murray recently had an 'amiable' meeting with Margaret Thatcher to discuss the dangers of the uprisings to both of them.

The left of the Labour movement also opposes the use of violence by the oppressed but they are more concerned that the state's violent response will spill over and begin to erode the democratic rights and status which is the foundation of their own privileges. Thus Tony Benn:

'The Labour Party does not believe in rioting as a route to social progress nor are we prepared to see the police injured in the course of their duties. But law and order without social justice and civil liberties are a recipe for a police state'.

The violence of the state must not be too naked if the justifiable anger of the oppressed is to be diverted into safer channels. So the *Morning Star* paper of the misnamed Communist Party, and backer of Mr Benn said:

'The way the young people in Toxteth have responded is a dead-end politically but that is only another way of saying that it is the labour movement's responsibility to direct their feelings of anger and frustration into forms of political action which will be effective in solving the problems they face.'

The middle-class socialist left – also backers of Tony Benn – wish to contain the revolutionary threat along similar, if more radical sounding, lines. So the SWP, after the Brixton Uprising told the youth:

'We have to build a link between that power [of the miners] and the spirit of Brixton'.

After the uprisings had spread to other cities the SWP then told the youth that they could not win by rioting alone.

'The heart of the beast is where the employed are. It was the miners who brought down the Tory Government in 1974. Rioting alone cannot do it'.

This is how the SWP wants to contain the revolutionary spirit of the uprisings. We remind the SWP that the power of the miners,



Jack Woddie Award

This month's award for National Chauvinist Hypocrisy goes to Pink Charlatan Mr Anthony Wedgewood Benn for his perverted call to 'liberate Britain' from US/IMF/Common Market 'oppression'. What he really wants is the 'liberation' of British imperialism from its rivals and the challenge of the oppressed. His record tells the truth:

- Voted for 1968 Immigration Bill
- Voted for PTA in 1977
- Voted for expulsion of Agee and Hosenball
- Signed contract to allow RTZ to steal Namibian uranium

Benn and his jet-set acolytes, in the same document, graciously offered to limit themselves to £28,000 a year for their services to imperialism. The ranks of the unemployed, the low-paid and the homeless will no doubt welcome this step towards their 'liberation'.

however militant their struggle, has been used to defend their own sectional interests and today, as in 1974, will be used to see the Labour Party – a reactionary imperialist party – returned to power. It is the miners and other organised workers who need to break from their traditions and follow the lead that was given during the uprisings.

The left of the Labour movement together with their middle class socialist friends, have not only attempted to divert the struggles of black and white youth into safer channels, but have also consistently attacked all anti-imperialist movements which have taken up the armed struggle. They have saved their most hysterical opposition for the revolutionary forces of the IRA, since the Irish struggle, like the uprisings, is much too close to home.

The uprisings have shown that a section of the working class now exists which is totally opposed to the imperialist state, which rejects the imperialist Labour Party, and which will not allow its struggle to be diverted into ineffectual constitutional paths. Communists recognise this, and will defend this newly emerging revolutionary vanguard. Major campaigns must ensure that these forces are not victimised and isolated by the police, courts and prisons.

The possibility at last exists of breaking the influence of the imperialist Labour Party and TUC over the working class. The struggle of workers in Britain against the British state can be united with that of revolutionary anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. It is in that unity that the strength and organisation will be found to destroy British imperialism, and so end the misery and oppression it

Hands Off Angola

continued from page 1

whole villages, attacked hospitals, schools and homes, leaving hundreds dead and injured. The full extent of death, destruction and damage to people, to crops, cattle, water wells, bridges, roads and railways is yet to be counted, but already the Angolan Government has declared the four southern provinces a disaster area. At present, despite statements to the contrary by the apartheid government, the SADF is still occupying nine towns and continues its murderous assault on the people of Angola.

The damage and destruction which is being spread over Angola is aimed, in the words of the apartheid war-machine, to '...smash SWAPO military power...'. The apartheid gangsters, with full imperialist collaboration, have been attempting to foist a puppet collaborationist regime onto the Namibian people, a regime obedient to imperialism and one which will secure Namibia's wealth for imperialism. But they have to first cope with SWAPO, the vanguard of the Namibian revolution. The attack on Angola is designed to try and smash SWAPO and its increasingly effective People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). PLAN has 15,000 operational troops in Namibia and in northern Namibia has established partially liberated areas. It daily engages, to deadly effect, in military battles with occupying South African troops. Since April 1981, 180 occupying forces have been killed, 15 troop carriers and trucks knocked out, 2 helicopters shot down and 3 military complexes destroyed. A South African officer was forced to admit that:

'The enemy (SWAPO) moves in civilian clothes and operates at night quite effectively. The fact is they are getting to the people who feed and protect them.'

The SADF invasion is not however directed solely at SWAPO bases and supply lines which the internationalist Angolan government has made available to them. It is aimed at the very foundations of the revolutionary regime itself. Ever since South Africa suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Angolan and Cuban revolutionary forces in 1975, it has conducted a constant war against the victorious MPLA forces. Since 1977 South African forces have carried out more than 400 major air and ground attacks against Angola killing over 2,500 civilians and causing more than £7b damage to her economy. In 1978 South African jet bombers and paratroopers brutally murdered 600 Namibian refugees at a camp in Kassinga. In 1979, the major southern town of Lubango, central to the economic reconstruction of the south was subjected to devastating bombings. In June 1980 mercenaries and SADF commandos invaded Cunene province killing 378 men, women and children. The Benguela rail line, a major outlet which could take all of Zambia's and Zaire's exports, is subjected to constant sabotage, forcing African states to use more expensive apartheid outlets for exports. By means of such terror and economic destruction, the apartheid regime is trying to weaken and destroy the revolutionary Angolan government to instal in its place the South African backed UNITA movement. The terrible consequences of South African aggression were described by Angolan Minister Lucio Lara, who stated that Angola had to devote:

'...over half of its budget to defence. We are subject to 24 hour aggression. Hundreds of trucks that should be used for health work, education and agriculture are being diverted for the war effort and our best youth is being conscripted to fight.'

He nevertheless went on to declare the Angolan government's relentless support for SWAPO, 'whatever the cost'.

The real criminals – US and British imperialism

Behind the racist apartheid butchers stand US



and British imperialism. The Angolan Director of Information and Propaganda was quite right when he saw 'South African forces acting as proxies for Western imperialism.' US imperialism which murdered hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese peasants and which is today supplying the fascist junta in El Salvador, with arms to murder El Salvadoran workers and peasants, has given its open, un concealed support to apartheid's war against Angola. At the United Nations Security Council debate on Angola it vetoed a resolution condemning South Africa's invasion and calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. US imperialism's open support for the invasion should not, however, deceive anyone about the equally reactionary position of British imperialism.

One day after the latest invasion, the British Foreign Office issued a statement claiming the invasion was a threat 'to stability in Southern Africa'. Lord Carrington called on South Africa to withdraw her forces from Angola. These were nothing more than hypocritical words, a diplomatic flannel to cover up Britain's true role. At the UN Security Council debate Britain did not vote to condemn the invasion of Angola – it abstained. In addition, it is with British Buccaneer planes that the SADF is bombing and strafing SWAPO bases and the Angolan people. The South African invasion would not be possible without British landrovers and British technology made available to the apartheid regime. The apartheid regime survives to carry out its murderous attacks on the Angolan people, primarily because of the backing it gets from British imperialism.

British imperialism, as with US imperialism, has been seeking to undermine SWAPO and weaken the revolutionary government of Angola which pose a deadly threat to imperialism in Southern Africa. As part of their propaganda they have used the presence of Cuban troops and Soviet advisers in Angola – an alleged threat to 'western democracy'. This stupid propaganda has been given a boost by the apartheid regime when it claimed to have captured a Soviet officer based with SWAPO. Such reactionary and infantile propaganda will not wash with the oppressed in Southern Africa or Britain. The apartheid regime with imperialist military, economic and political support is waging war on the revolutionary peoples of Namibia, Angola and Southern Africa. Cuban troops and Soviet advisers, many who have left their families and friends thousands of miles behind to stand alongside the anti-imperialist SWAPO and MPLA are greeted as revolutionary comrades by the oppressed people of the area. SWAPO and the Angolan government need and deserve all the help, support and solidarity from internationalists everywhere in the world.

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!, fully conscious of the revolutionary role of the Angolan government, denounces the latest escalation of South African aggression. We stand fully with SWAPO and the MPLA and demand the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. FRFI further demands that the British government immediately ends all connections with the apartheid regime.

**Victory to the Angolan People!
Victory to the Namibian People!
Victory to MPLA!
Victory to SWAPO!
Victory to ANC!**

SOUTH AFRICA

ANC MEMBERS SENTENCED TO DEATH

On 18 August 1981, 3 members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe – Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise – were sentenced to death by the Pretoria Supreme Court.

These freedom fighters were charged and found guilty of 'high treason' for their part in a number of highly successful military operations against the apartheid regime, including the brilliant bombing of the high security Sasol oil plants in June 1980 (see FRFI5). The fearless courage and dedication of these young revolutionaries was displayed on the days of verdict and sentence as they marched into the dock singing revolutionary songs and giving the clenched fist salute. Outside the court the oppressed people demonstrated their solidarity as they blocked several streets and fought the apartheid police. Following the sentence, the ANC issued a statement declaring

'The African National Congress and the fighting masses fully accept this latest challenge of condemning to death yet again members of our revolutionary movement.

The mass political struggle will intensify and the armed struggle will be raised to new and higher levels.'

The ANC is now campaigning to save the lives

of Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise. This campaign now goes hand in hand with that to save the lives of 3 other ANC members – Ncimbithi Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana – condemned to death in November 1980 for the attack on Soekmekaar police station. In addition, the ANC is campaigning for the right of black freedom fighters to be recognised and treated as Prisoners of War. Just as British imperialism tries to portray Irish political prisoners as common criminals, so the apartheid regime tries to present ANC freedom fighters as common criminals. FRFI fully supports the demands of the ANC and urges all its supporters and readers to do so too. FRFI readers can immediately:

● Write to the South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square and South African Prime Minister PW Botha, Union Buildings, Pretoria South Africa to demand an end to all hangings, and POW status for all captured freedom fighters.

War against apartheid

The tide of the armed struggle which swept aside colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique, which smashed the Smith regime in Zimbabwe and which is battering the foundations of South African rule in Namibia is now beating loudly against the walls of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Over the past 18 months, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC has carried out an ever increasing number of military operations against the racist apartheid state. FRFI has regularly reported these operations and since our last issue Umkhonto we Sizwe units have struck repeatedly. On 21 July, 3 power stations in the towns of Pretoria, Ermelo and Middleburg were hit knocking out 8 transformers, two generators and causing thousands of pounds of damage. These blows came just two weeks after South African Defence Force General Viljoen dismissed the ANC's military capacity as minimal. Other operations have been carried out in East London, Durban and Port Elizabeth. In the latter operation retreating Umkhonto militants engaged in battle with South African and Transkei security police suffering two dead but not before killing two policemen and wounding a further two.

But the most spectacular and politically most significant attack occurred on 14 August when an Umkhonto unit using heavy calibre 122mm rockets attacked the Voortrekkerhoogte military area. Voortrekkerhoogte is a vast military complex and the nerve centre of the apartheid military apparatus. It is reserved strictly for military personnel and no unclassified black people are permitted to even come near it. This was the first attack on any military institution in South Africa. Security forces immediately sealed off black townships surrounding Pretoria and Johannesburg where the guerrilla fighters were given refuge in working class homes.

These and previous military operations directed at economic, military and police targets separated by thousands of miles indicate that the armed struggle of the ANC is soon to enter the stage of open and systematic military warfare against the apartheid regime. The ANC leadership has already declared its intention of doing so. The apartheid regime is trembling at the prospect. General Viljoen who a month ago dismissed Umkhonto we Sizwe, today speaks with a different tongue:

'Besides the fact that there is an increase in sabotage assaults the terrorists (ie freedom

fighters) are succeeding in inflicting more damage on selected targets.'

General Viljoen went on to add:

'As in South West Africa [Namibia] the Republic of South Africa must be prepared to resist a terrorist onslaught [ie an intensified revolutionary armed struggle]'

The apartheid regime is now being besieged on all fronts – alongside the massive workers strikes, the mass student struggles and political campaigns, the armed struggle is assuming an increasing and vital importance. Communists welcome this fact with joy. The more the apartheid regime is stretched the quicker will it snap.

Victory to the ANC!

Homeless forced out

On 11 August 1981, on the orders of Piet Koornhof Minister of Cooperation and Development, Bantu Administration officials raided a squatters camp near Nyanga township just outside Cape Town. With ruthless brutality they ripped down and burnt makeshift shelters leaving 400 squatters, including pregnant women and little babies exposed to hail and gale force winds on one of the coldest winter days this year. Firewood donated to them was burnt up by Government officials and a white woman trying to pass food to the squatters was arrested. White women taking babies home for hot baths, a life saving measure, were prevented access to the camp. The area was blocked off to all helpers and journalists to try and starve and freeze the squatters out of their camp.

Most of the squatters are the wives and children of men employed in the Cape Town area. But under apartheid law they have no legal right to live with their husbands and fathers. They are, according to apartheid law, illegal immigrants from 'independent' Transkei, stripped of all rights in 'white' South Africa. The racist regime is trying to expel them to the 'homelands' – concentration camps reserved for blacks deemed 'idle' by apartheid. The attack on the squatters is part and parcel of apartheid's massive policy of forced migration. Between 1960–1980 over 2m blacks have been expelled from white designated areas to face starvation and death in the

Murder of ANC representative

On 31 July Joe Gqabi ANC representative in Zimbabwe was found dead outside his house in Salisbury. Eighteen 9mm cartridges were found near his body. The bullets had been fired at point blank range. Joe Gqabi was murdered by the apartheid regime.

Joe Gqabi was an unstinting fighter for the ANC. He was a trade unionist in South Africa and later worked for *New Age*, the anti-apartheid paper which supported the ANC in South Africa in the early '60s, until it was banned in 1962. He was imprisoned on Robben Island for 12 years. On his release he was banned, rearrested, and finally acquitted in the Pretoria 12 trial in 1978. He was then forced to leave the country. He knew that the South African government would try to kill him. In February – one month after the Matola raid in Mozambique when 12 ANC members were murdered – seven kilograms of explosives were found under his car in Salisbury. Nevertheless Joe Gqabi carried on the fight for freedom and justice.

Since his death the South African government has refused to renew the work permits for 20,000 Zimbabwean workers in South Africa. This is an attempt to intimidate the people of Zimbabwe. At the state funeral of Joe Gqabi, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe made it clear that the South Africans will not succeed.

'Have no fear, therefore, Comrade President Tambo, that this act might deter the people of Zimbabwe from their noble duty of giving assistance to the people of South Africa. ... We are together in this struggle. We shall perish together, and certainly, at the end of that bitter process, there is going to be victory for the people of South Africa.'

This was not a statement lightly made. All the Southern African states are dependent economically on South Africa. They face an advanced industrial country, armed to the teeth, which has the backing of American and British imperialism. Yet the peoples of the front line states know that the apartheid regime stands in the way of freedom for all black people, and are willing to sacrifice themselves in order to bring South Africa to its knees.



The ANC does not intend just to mourn Joe Gqabi and the others who have died in the course of the liberation war. They intend to avenge the deaths of their freedom fighters.

**Hamba Kahle Comrade Joe Gqabi
Victory to the ANC**

Carol Brown

Message of Support

To:
South African Congress of Trade Unions
ANC(SA) 24 August 1981

Joint Memorial Meeting in Tribute to Eli Weinberg, Phineas Nene and Joe Gqabi

Dear comrades,
Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! extends revolutionary greetings to your meeting in memory of Eli Weinberg, Phineas Nene and Joe Gqabi. We too remember the names of these comrades who dedicated their lives to the freedom struggle in South Africa.

This meeting comes at a time when the savage apartheid regime is intensifying its repression of the black masses of South Africa and escalating its war against the Frontline revolutionary states, in particular at the moment against Angola. But none of this can paralyse the revolutionary masses in South Africa. We recall the words of the ANC(SA) statement following the death sentences on 3 Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters last week:

'The African National Congress and the fighting masses fully accept this latest challenge of condemning to death yet again members of our revolutionary movement.'

The mass political struggle will intensify and the armed struggle will be raised to new and higher levels.'

We extend our full solidarity to SACTU and to the ANC(SA) in their revolutionary struggle to destroy the apartheid regime nurtured and sustained by barbarous British imperialism.

**Long Live the Freedom Struggle of the South African masses!
Victory to the ANC!**

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA)

International Fund-Raising Bazaar

Saturday, October 3rd – 11am-4pm
Porchester Hall, Porchester Road,
Bayswater, London W2

Admission 10p (OAPs and Children free)
YOUR SUPPORT IS VITAL TO
THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE!

a barricade round him. The police responded with teargas and arrests and a pregnant woman, heavily bleeding, was taken to hospital. But neither the freezing cold, hunger, teargas nor illness broke the squatters resistance. The squatters grew in numbers and they demanded the right to remain in the Cape area as well as the release of all those arrested.

Then on 18 August the police with dogs moved into the camp, ripped down the rebuilt shelters and arrested 2,000 adults, leaving behind children and property. The following day 1,000 people were deported to 'Transkei' not even being allowed to collect their children and belongings. A few days later 350 more squatters who had taken refuge in a church were deported after raids by police.

As we go to press this latest scene of apartheid barbarity is still being acted out. This regime, which with its forced migration of millions of blacks into concentration camps, permitting them to leave for 'white' areas only when they are required to slave to produce profits, is supported by British and US imperialism. The 'democracy' and 'civilisation' of imperialism is for the oppressed blacks nothing short of genocide.

Eddie Abrahams

LIVERPOOL

MARCH AGAINST POLICE

On 15 August, the youth of Liverpool – both black and white – demonstrated once again their revolutionary hatred of the police. The march, organised by the Liverpool 8 Defence Committee, showed the deep anger felt by the youth at the murderers of David Moore and Jimmy Kelly. Attempts by the police to control the demonstration proved in vain, as the number of protestors swelled from an initial 4,000 to over 10,000.

The youth were in no mood to tolerate cheek from the defenders of the ruling class. Any lip from the racist police was answered by force – the march was punctuated by scuffles as policemen were firmly dealt with. At one point, a police helmet was paraded on top of a pole for all to see. One youth ran a stick along a row of coppers, knocking all their helmets off. Many were spat on, as the marchers revelled in the power of a united people.

In the centre of town, the youth took over the whole street. This was no mealy-mouthed protest such as that organised by corrupt leaders of the working class, where people file silently as if they were ashamed along one side of the street, meekly accepting the directions given by the police. Down Dawson Street, along Whitechapel and up Lord James Street on to Pier Head, there was no holding the youth back. At one point, a Labour Party steward protested to the youth 'Don't spoil it, don't spoil it' as they spilled into the pavement, sweeping buses aside. The reply was immediate: 'Who are you – Labour Party? You've never been nicked or beaten up, have you?' To the chanting of 'Kill the bill', 'War, war, war', 'David Moore – murdered', 'Jimmy Kelly – murdered', the youth swept on to Pier Head.

In sharp contrast to the youth at the front, the trade union and Labour Party contingents at the back acted as if they were on an afternoon stroll, unable to rouse themselves for more than the occasional slogan. Tony Mulhearn, Labour parliamentary candidate had said the previous day 'This is not an anti-police demonstration – it is against Oxford'. For the labour aristocracy, the march was not against the brutal and racist defenders of the ruling class, but against one person. Never having experienced at first hand the viciousness of the police, they had no anger. Instead they had fear – fear that unless Oxford were sacked, the anger of the youth could not be controlled in the future.

At the rally at the end, there was a sharp contrast in the reception given to various speakers. Those who were proven fighters were given warm applause. A spokesman from the Bradford 12 Defence Committee affirmed the right of black people to organise their self-defence, to acclaim from black and white youth alike. They enthusiastically applauded Anwar Ditta; in her courage and her determination, in her hatred for the racist British state, they found a common bond. They also applauded a spokesman from the Brixton Defence Committee, when he said that he was not proud to share a platform with the Labour Party, since they were as responsible as the Tory Party for the conditions black people are forced to endure. And they applauded a heckler during Labour MP Doug Hoyle's speech, who demanded 'What about the hunger-strikers in Northern Ireland?'

The demonstration was a clear pointer to the future. The revolutionary movement that will in time destroy British imperialism has announced its existence. Now it must organise to defend itself against the massive repression that is bound to come.

**PUBLIC MEETING
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH FIGHT
BACK
LIVERPOOL**
Friday 25 September
Stanley House, Upper Parliament St
7.30pm



MIKE ABRAHAM/NETWORK

POLICE TERROR

The naked face of police terror has been shown on the streets of Liverpool 8 both during and since the first Uprising there. In Liverpool as in Ireland, the forces of the British state have the clear intention of smashing all and any resistance. To attempt this, Liverpool police have used many of the techniques of repression and intimidation long used by the British Army and RUC against the nationalist people of the Six Counties.

CS Gas

During the first Uprising in Liverpool the police showed their intention to kill, maim and brutalise. For the first time in this country CS gas was used. CS gas was used in the Six Counties and its effects are dangerous and indeed potentially lethal to the very young, the very old or to those suffering bronchial diseases. But not only did Liverpool police use CS gas against the people of Liverpool 8 – they used it in a particular fashion designed purely to maim or kill. They fired CS gas cartridges directly at people. These cartridges – one inch long and with a dum-dum effect which causes them to spread on impact – are designed to be fired at walls or other such hard surfaces. The manufacturers print a warning on each pack against their use on crowds or individuals. Yet use them against individuals is precisely what the police did. The results were appalling injuries – in two cases only prompt surgery saved the lives of the victims. Southport footballer Phil Robins was hit in the back and chest leaving deep gaping wounds. Another man, Kenneth Anderson was hit in the thigh narrowly missing his genitals and required a transplant of blood vessels. Home Secretary Whitelaw stated in Parliament his full support for the use of CS gas in Liverpool and therefore his full support for attempted murder by the police.

Police vans used as murder weapons

Terror tactic No 2, frequently employed in the Six Counties, is the driving of police vehicles at high speed into crowds or at individuals. This was used to fatal effect by Liverpool police.

David Moore was murdered in this way on 28 July. At about 10.15pm a police jeep scorched over the waste ground opposite Falkner Square and crushed the 22 year old invalid against a garden fence. It reversed and then ran him over. All the time the jeep had its lights on, illuminating the whole area. He died several hours later from appalling injuries. Outrage spread through Liverpool 8 and was shown when 300 people attended his funeral.

On 3 August, about 150-200 people picketed talks between Chief Constable Oxford and 'community leaders'. The picket was called by the Liverpool 8 Defence Committee. As Oxford was leaving, police jumped out of trees and bushes to protect him from the youth, who were chanting 'Oxford Out!' and 'Remember David Moore' 'Remember Jimmy Kelly'.

In another incident on that day Paul Conroy was attacked by police who first of all threw bricks at him. Then suddenly a police jeep appeared, mounted the pavement and rammed him against the wall. It reversed and was about to run over him when a black youth jumped in front and dragged him aside. This brave black youth was then beaten so badly that a truncheon broke on his head. Paul Conroy was saved from David Moore's fate only by this intervention. Nevertheless he suffered a broken back. In excruciating pain he was dragged along the road and thrown into a police van. On a Granada report of this incident, a policeman can clearly be heard shouting 'Make way for the nig-nog' as Paul was dragged away. The police continued to beat him and three weeks after he still had a clear boot print on his chest. In hospital there was a police guard on him for four days.

A brand new landscaping project between Upper Parliament Street and Falkner estate has been cleared of saplings and bollards have been removed from St Nathaniel Street to enable jeeps to have a clear run at anyone assembling in the area. Such methods of 'positive policing', as Oxford describes them, were pioneered by the apartheid South African state using identical landrovers built in South Africa.

Random Terror on the Streets

● Michael Blaney was attacked by a policeman on 29 July, after the second Uprising. Shouting 'I'll make sure you don't have any more little black bastards', the policeman slashed him across the groin almost severing his penis.

● At closing time on 7 July, Ali Ithnin and some of his friends left Scamps disco. A group of white men from Widnes tried to pick a fight with them. Not wanting trouble they started to walk home to Liverpool 8 through a side street. Suddenly the police drove up (they proved to be some of Anderton's thugs drafted in from Manchester to deal with the Liverpool Uprising). They dragged Ali and his friends into a meat wagon and beat them using fists, boots and truncheons. Ali and his

OXFORD OUT

Kenneth Oxford has become the symbol of the hated Liverpool police. The arrogance and racism of this Chief Constable of Murder is too widely known to need comment. Indeed a Chief Constable who takes every opportunity to openly parade his racist, ignorant and brutish nature has become embarrassing even to sections of the Establishment. They fear that he will expose too clearly the real nature of the police.

The movement to get 'Oxford Out' therefore unites many different elements. (Though notably it still excludes the cowardly Labour Council in Liverpool which pays half of Oxford's wages.) On the one hand there are the people of Liverpool 8 for whom Oxford sums up the brutality, racism and murderous malice of Liverpool police. For them, the call for 'Oxford Out' means not only the removal of this vile man from office but also ridding the streets of the thugs in blue. On the other hand are those, loyal to the established order of things who wish to see Oxford sacked merely as a cosmetic reform. They hope to hold back the people's movement against the police from taking ever more threatening forms. They will try to debase the call for 'Oxford Out' and limit the movement to that one aim.

But when the youth of Liverpool 8 march for the removal of Oxford it means 'End Police Harassment', 'No More Police Beatings' and 'Racist Police out of Liverpool 8'. The unity, strength and class consciousness of the people in Liverpool 8 has been shown. They can not only get Oxford Out but can provide a shining example of a revolutionary movement against the police and the system of profit and privilege that they protect.

friends were then locked up and charged with threatening behaviour. The men from Widnes were not touched.

● Linda Pattison, a married woman with two children, was on a grass verge opposite her house trying to see what the commotion was. A herd of riot police charged over the nearby mound. Linda, not doing anything, stayed where she was. A riot policeman ran up to her and beat her saying 'Take that, you black bastard'. Linda suffered two fractures of her left arm and a doctor told her that something much heavier than a truncheon had been used on her.

Brutality in the cells

Once picked up by police people suffer continuing brutality and abuse, including sexual abuse. Incidents taking place in Cheapside Police Station are reminiscent of the attacks and degradation suffered by those held by RUC thugs in the Six Counties. In Ireland the beatings in police stations are just part of the conveyor belt which takes people off the streets and ends with them serving long sentences in prisons like Long Kesh. In Cheapside Police Station Liverpool:

● A fourteen year old girl, who had been badly coshed, refused to wash before her court appearance. She wanted the court to see her wounds. A policeman twisted her arms behind her back and forced her face into a sink of water.

● A nine year old girl was held alone in a cell all night without any food. Given her age, the police holding her at all was itself illegal.

● A policeman went into another girl's cell, locked the door and started to make gross and obscene suggestions to her. He offered her a cigarette if she would comply.

● Kevin Griffin, who is gay, was sexually assaulted by a policeman who first pushed a truncheon into his anus and then raped him.

The courts continue the repression

In Liverpool, as elsewhere, many of those arrested during the Uprisings have been repeatedly denied bail. The Liverpool 8 Defence Committee has protested at the heavy penalties being imposed by the courts and also at the very serious nature of some of the charges which carry long prison sentences. One woman Anne Harris was forced to take the serious step of going on hunger strike to protest at the fact that she was being continually denied bail and held in Risley Remand Centre.

CHAPELTOWN

After the uprisings in Brixton and later in Liverpool the youth of Chapeltown took to the streets to do battle with the racist police. They gave a clear answer to the Leeds Labour Party Young Socialists, who for two days before the uprising began had been distributing leaflets all over Chapeltown saying 'rioting and looting was not the answer to the problems of Chapeltown'. On the two nights of 11 and 12 July large numbers of Chapeltown youth and others from surrounding areas armed themselves and fought a bloody battle with the police.

The youth of Chapeltown tore bricks and stones from the crumbling walls of the ghetto and hurled them at the police along with petrol bombs. With the police lines shattered the oppressed youth dealt with one policeman by completely stripping him of his uniform. The police fled from the Chapeltown area leaving behind many shields and a police van which the youth upturned and burnt.

It was only later, as the youth dispersed that the police were able to make arrests by using snatch-squads. They tried to get their revenge by beating people, raiding houses and arresting people, as they continue to do, and by framing people with the assistance of the racist courts.

The Courts

Two special courts were set up. One of these was presided over by Alderman Colonel Lawrence Turnbull. As the owner of business premises in the area where the uprising took place he would no doubt deal harshly with those who did not respect his property and who fought back against the protectors of property – the police. The other court held by the Stipendiary Magistrates was in the smallest possible courtroom. Over a hundred friends and relatives who had come to support the defendants tried to gain access to this courtroom and police reinforcements had to be called when scuffles broke out outside the court. As one black woman remarked,

'The only thing "special" about this court is that it needs a whole heap of police to

protect it'

Harsh sentences

An unemployed black youth pleading guilty to 'stealing' 30p worth of sweets which he picked up from the pavement outside a shop was sent to detention centre for 3 months. All of those pleading not guilty were remanded in custody. At later hearings the magistrates were forced to grant bail to many of the defendants. Most of those granted bail had stringent curfews and other conditions imposed upon them. A 38 year old white woman charged with waving a stick, shouting obscenities and throwing a bottle was sent to prison for 56 days. A black youth who the police have harassed for years was gaoled for 3 months for allegedly throwing bricks and stones. The police claim to have recognised him because of his locks but in fact he was wearing a hat which hid his hair up until he was arrested.

The capitalist state thinks that by taking the youth from the community and imprisoning them and by holding the community to ransom that it will destroy the movement of the people for freedom. But the people are strong and united and have seen more clearly now what a capitalist state means and what it does to people, and what its law and justice really is. They understand that they come under attack from the police and the laws which defend the capitalist system and so – they stand against the system.

Garvey Harrison

WOLVERHAMPTON Court protest

The revolutionary uprisings which spread across more than 24 towns in July also hit that old haunt of the 'Prophet Enoch', Wolverhampton.

On Friday 11 July, the over-used rumour that 'racists are coming to town' resulted in boarded-up shops, and shoppers and shop workers being sent home. Everywhere youths were harassed, some simply being beaten up but not arrested. Law and Order continued in this way until evening when at the 'Little Swan', the last pub left in town where black youths can meet, the police attacked the youth. Very quickly the hated Dunstall Road police station became the target of a counter-attack by black and white youths.

The following day the fight continued with Birmingham Road police station being attacked. Farndale Estate was sealed off by the youth who lobbed petrol bombs and stones at the police.

On Monday 14 July, the courts had 30 people to deal with. The authorities, beaten on the streets, sought revenge in the courts. In a

vain attempt to smash the unity between black and white which had been bonded in struggle on the streets, the Court bailed most of the white youths but held most of the black youths in custody. Two black youths who had offers of sureties were casually remanded in custody. At this the people in the Court rose and moved to the dock to free their brothers. Police rushed in from outside and attacked them with truncheons. The people outside the court were also attacked. Four people were arrested.

The people of Wolverhampton showed that they will not tolerate racist oppression on the streets and neither will they stand idly by while some racist casually denies bail to their comrades. The state, aware of the leading revolutionary role being played by black youth, wants to crush them. It is our duty not only to fight back when we are attacked but to make sure that we organise so that everyone who comes before British 'justice' is supported and does not stand alone.

K Ace Kelly

**PUBLIC MEETING
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH FIGHT
BACK
MANCHESTER**
Thursday 17 September
Moss Side Peoples Centre
7.30pm

**STREET MEETINGS
LEEDS**
Saturday 26 September 11am
Outside Grandways Supermarket
Roundhay Road, Leeds 8

MANCHESTER
Saturday 12 September 11am
Moss Side Shopping Precinct

FREE THE BRADFORD 12

Giovanni Singh
Pravin Patel
Saeed Hussain
Tariq Ali
Ahmed Ebrahim Mansoor
Masood Malik
Sabir Hussain
Jayesh Amin
Bahram Noor Khan
Tarlochan Gata-Aura
Ishaq Kazi
Vasant Patel

BRADFORD 12

continued from page 1

The case is strongly reminiscent of frame-ups carried out against Irish people in Britain. Conspiracy charges have been consistently used in these cases because the evidence required for a conviction need only be hearsay or evidence of association. Commonly in Irish trials the state's case is based on the quite legal political views and activity of the defendant. Many Irish people are serving massively long sentences arising from such charges without a shred of real evidence being produced against them.

In the case of the Bradford 12 the same tactics may well be used. The British state has long used such methods to rid itself of opponents to its rule. Since the Irish struggle has for the past decade been the most serious revolutionary threat to British imperialism, the state has perfected its tactics of repression by their use against the Irish. Now, with the Bradford 12 it is attempting to criminalise the revolutionary struggle being waged by black people. The aim is clear – if the state is successful in its attack on the Bradford 12 then it will be issuing a threat to all those fighting back against the racist British state. Look, it will be saying, this is what may happen to you. By such means they hope to hold back the growing organisation of the revolutionary forces.

The Bradford community has responded to the case with anger and shown its willingness to defend the 12. A public meeting in Bradford to protest at the arrests drew 700 people. Speakers at the meeting were applauded when they asked 'Have we not got

the right to defend ourselves? Have we not got the right to speak about what we would do if we were attacked?'. The Chairman of the meeting said that the arrests are the most serious attack which the black community has faced for a very long time and had implications not only for the black community but for the whole working class. Anwar Ditta pledged her full support to the defence of the 12 and said that the only reason for their arrest was that they had been fighting for their rights against a racist system. Speaking of the anguish of her six year separation from her children she said that the 12 'Cried my six years tears with me'. From the floor of the meeting, a representative of FRFI pledged full support for the Bradford 12 and told the audience what one of the twelve had said to her when she visited him in prison that day – that only a massive campaign would force the state to back down.

The need for such a campaign is clear. The determination of the state is shown by the fact that so far only Saeed Hussain and Jayesh Amin have been given bail and that with stringent conditions preventing them from attending meetings and imposing a curfew on them. Of the remaining 10 in custody 3 are being held in Armley prison and 6 in Thorpe Arch which is miles away from Bradford. The Thorpe Arch prisoners are allowed only 20 minutes out of their cells for exercise each day. All are allowed only 15 minutes visits each day. Without bail they face these appalling conditions for many months to come whilst the state concocts its case. As a protest against

their continued imprisonment 5 of the prisoners refused to leave their cells to appear at the weekly remand hearing on 3 September.

The arrests come at a time when racist attacks and police harassment are mounting and when the revolutionary fightback against this oppression has spread across Britain. In Bradford recently there have been arson attacks against black peoples' homes and cafes. These have culminated in the fire-bombing of Textile Hall, which is a local West Indian centre and headquarters of the Committee set up to defend the Bradford 12. Whereas fascist outrages are passed off as accidents or simply ignored by police, any attempt by the black community to defend itself meets the full force of the state.

On 11 July a gang of skinheads descended on Bradford intending to mount yet another racist attack. The youth, responding to this threat and also to the massive presence of police in the City Centre, gathered to defend their areas. 68 of them were arrested as they faced such police tactics as setting dogs onto them. One man, Cyril Agard, was severely mauled by a police dog while police stood by and watched for several minutes.

But Bradford police were not satisfied with mere brutality and arrests. Fearing the growing organisation taking place in Bradford they determined to victimise activists in the community. Hence on Thursday 30 July a co-ordinated series of early morning raids took place, and 4 arrests were made. Throughout that day several more Asian youths were arrested. The 11 arrested were subjected to threats, physical harassment and prolonged and exhausting interrogation. Friends and associates were also harassed by the police and subjected to intimidating interrogations.

The 11 arrested were held for 48 hours without access to solicitors or relatives. Finally they were taken to court on Saturday

morning. They were allowed to see solicitors for the first time only half an hour before the Court hearing. A twelfth man was charged several days later.

The July 11th Action Committee has been set up in Bradford to deal with the case of the Bradford 12. It has called weekly pickets of the Court in Bradford and these need and demand support from all over the country. FRFI supporters from Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, Bradford and London have supported the pickets. Much more is needed and throughout the country all those who support the struggle against the racist British state must mobilise in defence of the Bradford 12, raise their voices and say loud and clear:

**Free the Bradford 12!
Drop the charges now!**

Maxine Williams

BRADFORD TWELVE

**Picket Bradford Magistrates
Court Every Thursday 9.30pm
London National Picket of
Director of Public Prosecutions.
4/12 Queen Anne's Gate, SW1
Monday 14 September 10.30am
Send letters and messages of
support to July 11th Action
Committee c/o 2 Springbank
Place Bradford 8**

**Send messages of support to the
prisoners
Tariq Ali, Tarlochan Gata-aura, Ishaq
Kazi – at Armley Gaol, Leeds
the others, except Vasant Patel are in
Thorpe Arch Detention Centre,
Wetherby**

LEEDS

Racist firebombs

The Black community in Leeds are under increasing attack from racists. The homes of two Asian families were attacked by racist firebombers in one single week. In both cases the police failed to either investigate, or as in the New Cross Massacre, take any action.

On Saturday 18 July Mr Poran Singh and Mrs Charan Kaur were asleep in their home in Leeds 7, when either a petrol bomb or a similar incendiary device was thrown through the window. Mr Singh attempted to pull his wife, who is disabled, out of the house but was beaten back by the flames. A group of local black and white youth tried to break down the door and rescue Mr Singh and his wife, but were forced back such was the intensity of the fire. At this point the police arrived, not because of the fire but because of their terror of seeing the youth gathering on the street. A van load of them drove up in full riot gear! Mr Singh's wife was burnt to death.

On 22 July the home of Liat Ali in Leeds 7, was attacked. Mr Ali awoke to find his home on fire. He quickly alerted his family, including his pregnant wife and their young children, who were forced to jump to safety from a first floor window.

The evidence of both these racist attacks clearly points to arson. Mr Singh himself has stated that a petrol bomb or something similar started the fire. As he told a local paper, 'Something came through the window and smashed on the opposite wall. It was burning and it dropped on the settee in the dining room'. Reg Dixon, a neighbour, also saw something being thrown at the house. Despite these statements, the police have refused to treat this fire as an arson attack, and have claimed that there are no suspicious circumstances!

After the murder of Mrs Kaur did we see the police making inquiries and arresting suspects? No! They held Mr Singh for over 12 hours, intensively interrogated him and refused to believe what he told them. So terrified were the police of the truth being known, that the police interpreter told Mr Singh to agree with the police if he wanted to be released. Furthermore, while Mr Singh was being held, relatives and a solicitor were refused access to him. Such is the inhumanity and racism of the notorious Leeds police towards black people.

In the case of Mr Ali the police have said that the fire was caused by an electrical fault. Yet a qualified electrician has ruled this out as a cause as none of the wires had been burnt beyond their sockets. All the evidence shows that petrol was poured or squirted through the letter box. A local builder saying, 'It's definitely a flash job'.

It is wishful thinking to assume that the police will investigate the causes and perpetrators of these vile attacks. The police will continue to cover up such racist attacks on the black community and will continue their harassment of black people, as they did with Mr Singh. The police stand exposed for what they are - the paid servants of the racist British state and the accomplices of racist attacks.

CM

**PUBLIC MEETING
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH FIGHT
BACK
LEEDS**
Thursday 1 October
Leeds Trades Hall
Saville Mount, Leeds 7
7.30pm

BRADFORD

Arson attack on textile hall

A particularly vicious and devastating racist attack has shocked and angered the Bradford black community. In the early hours of Sunday 23 August the top floor of Bradford's Textile Hall, which housed the premises of Bradford West Indian Association Social Club, was completely gutted in a racist arson attack. £100,000 worth of damage was caused, and two of West Yorkshire's leading sound systems, Kamanda Sound and Scorch International, had all their equipment completely destroyed.

The Social Club was the first and only West Indian Centre in Bradford, and was used by hundreds of black youth every day. With racist fire bombings and attacks increasing every week in Yorkshire, it is clear that the burning down of the Textile Hall was no 'accident'. The black community have demanded that the truth be known that the cause was arson - Bradford police and politicians prefer to cover this up. Indeed only six weeks before the attack, the leader of the Labour Party on the local Council, Derek Smith received threats over the phone that the Textile Hall would be burned down!

When members of the West Indian Association inspected the hall after the fire, it was immediately apparent to them that the fire had spread with great speed and intensity, and that a tremendous amount of heat had been generated in specific parts of the building. In two areas the damage was so extensive that

something akin to explosions must have taken place. Some firemen and the landlady of an adjoining pub reported hearing sounds like explosions. It is no wonder then that members of the Club Management Committee had reported that this attack was carried out by organised racists, using sophisticated incendiary devices.

As with the New Cross Massacre and the recent fire bombing of Asian homes in Leeds, the police cover-up machinery has quickly moved into operation. The police were told of the fire at 4am. Yet the fire brigade was not summoned until 4.55! Detective Chief Superintendent Lapish made a statement which ruled out arson before any forensic examinations, including that by the police, were completed! The local Labour controlled council has also revealed its indifference to the attack. In response to the West Indian Association's demands for compensation and new premises, they have contemptuously offered a pitifully small and inadequate building. And what of the local Trades Council and trade unions who own the Textile Hall. Not one of their representatives has come forward to express their sympathy - this when the West Indian Association pays them on average £5000 per year in rent.

But the black community in Bradford is fast responding to this latest situation. Coming so soon after the arrests of 12 Asian youth on conspiracy charges, meetings have been organised and 150 militant and angry black youth marched through the City centre chanting 'Accident - No Way! Arson - is what we say!' and 'Textile Hall burn! Babylon burn!'.

BB

COMMUNITY POLICING

As dangerous as CS gas

There is a major debate going on within the ruling class and its followers about police methods. Whilst the Tory Government has sanctioned the use of CS gas and plastic bullets there is another school which favours so-called community policing. Amongst its advocates are the Labour lefts and the Communist Party. There is no fundamental difference of aim between the two sides of the debate. The community policing advocates merely argue that openly repressive methods of policing will fuel the rebellion of the oppressed and thereby endanger the existing system. The advocates of openly repressive methods argue that only these methods will be adequate to contain and defeat the rebellion of the oppressed. The aim of both sides of the argument is the same - to protect property, privilege and the British state.

Moreover whilst the two methods of policing are often presented as alternatives reality shows that they go hand in hand. Handsworth, scene of the major experiment in community policing proves this. Community policing in Handsworth has been used to confuse and divide the community and to buy off a small minority of people. A leaflet from The Dave Butchere Action Committee, set up to defend Dave Butchere from a police frame-up, describes what happens:

'Policemen posing as social workers take black kids swimming and play football with them. They go into schools in Handsworth and give the children lectures on how nice the police really are. The police organise discos and run sound systems so that people can dance away their frustrations. The police have taken control of the ganga trade so that they can blackmail people into giving them information about the community. They promise others that they will give them money to go back to Africa on condi-

tion that they pass on certain information about others or do certain things for the police. And to put icing on the cake, the police and their paid agents organise a community festival.'

Alongside this, as the Committee's leaflets show, goes the normal, brutal and racist treatment of the youth by the police:

● Angus Wilson was beaten with an iron bar by a racist milkman. Instead of arresting the milkman, the police arrested Angus.

● Glenford Reid was severely beaten up by police and then arrested, charged with assaulting the police, kept handcuffed in a cell for 24 hours and then remanded in custody.

● Dave Butchere, a community worker, drove his van into a petrol station. Suddenly it was surrounded by SPG officers who searched it. They found a youth club rounders bat and a metal tool and charged Dave Butchere with possession of offensive weapons.

An article in the Brixton Defence Campaign Bulletin No 2 shows that the Handsworth scheme has had 'devastating effects'. It des-

HOLLOWAY

Soviet Publicity

The Sunday Telegraph is quicker than ever to scream Reds Under the Bed as the Cold War heats up. It lost no time in July when its banner headlines declared 'Russia prints London pupils' protest letter.'

To the horror of the bourgeois nationals, as well as local North London newspapers the Soviet youth paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* printed the letter signed by over 200 school students in February of this year about the police attack in the playground of Archway School in Holloway when two black pupils were arrested and charged. Most frightful of all, the letter was printed in the USSR above an article about the recent uprisings in British cities with a picture of police arresting two youths. 'Who knows whether one of these people might be a signatory to the letter' says the caption.

Yes indeed. The whole concern of the Soviet paper is to explain the background to the uprisings in Britain, to show that the cause is a long history of oppression and racist harassment by the British state. The Soviet paper by printing the letter of the school students also highlights the lack of real democracy in this country. Although there was great outrage from the educational and police authorities that the young people had dared to organise and publicise their protest against police harassment in school, no British paper other than this one has actually printed the letter in full. Nevertheless, the young people involved in organising the protest have learnt the power of standing together for self-defence.

**PUBLIC MEETING
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH FIGHT
BACK
NORTH LONDON**
Friday 25 September
North Library, Manor Gardens
off Holloway Road
Admission 30p. Nearest Tube:
Archway
7.30pm

cribes how in its early stages Rastafarian youth were systematically brutalised and then:

'Those exposed African youth reeling from the shock of systematic brutality and criminalisation by the police become prey to the schemes of these police officers and their agents in the Black community. Central to these schemes were a) the use of state money under the control of the police themselves b) the use of black agents including petty criminal elements and petty bourgeois individual 'leaders' c) confusion inside of Rasta itself.'

The effects were disastrous, as the Brixton Defence Campaign Bulletin goes on to show:

'At the same time the use by the police of discussion with a succession of 'Rasta' leaders has spread maximum confusion among African youth in Birmingham... 'Peace' as a slogan has been gradually made the order of the day. So much so that during the recent country-wide upsurge of violence there were "Rastas" demonstrating on the streets of Handsworth under banners saying that they were people of "Peace". They carried on saying so right up to the point where they were bashed over the head and arrested in droves by police who saw them as "black rioters".'

Those who advocate community policing know that it means beating down the poor and oppressed every bit as forcefully as does CS gas. They know that its effects are to make the mobilisation of resistance to oppression greatly more difficult. The lessons of Handsworth are now clear for all to see and learn from.

IRAN

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

Since mid July, Iran's ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP) backed by Khomeini has intensified its repression against the country's mass anti-imperialist and revolutionary organisations. The People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran (PMOI), the largest mass organisation, and two communist ones – the Organisation of the Iranian People's Fedai Guerrillas (OIPFG) and Peykar (Struggle) – all having a history of courageous resistance to the Shah's regime – have been the main targets of the Khomeini regime's repression.

Since 20 June, the number of political prisoners has increased from 2,000 to over 13,000, of which 7,000 are members and supporters of the PMOI. Political prisoners are brutally tortured with the barbaric apparatus established by the Shah and then put before firing squads. Mass arrests and executions of people suspected of being members of supporters of revolutionary organisations are a daily occurrence. In the third week of August for example no less than 120 people were executed within the space of three days and on 24 August the number of those killed was 73. Up to now more than 800 people have been executed, many of them young girls between the age of 10-15, or people found guilty of ridiculous charges such as 'possession of a leaflet' or 'organising protests'. Two of the most prominent people executed were Saeed Soltanpoor – poet, playwright and a leading member of the OIPFG – and Sayed

Mohammad Reza Saadati, a PMOI leader who spent 7 years in the Shah's prisons and tasted liberty for only three months after the February Revolution before being arrested again.

This wholesale massacre of revolutionaries and the attempted destruction of their organisations goes hand in hand with the Khomeini regime's consolidation of relations with imperialism. The crash of an Argentinian plane in the USSR in July exposed a secret arms deal between the regime and the reactionary imperialist Zionist state. In addition it has signed contracts with imperialist firms such as Talbot, Peugeot, Toyota and Volvo and is planning to further open up Iran to imperialist capital. It is no surprise therefore that the recent wave of mass murder has evoked no outrage and condemnation from the imperialist governments and media who were so ready to denounce the regime when it was executing the Shah's generals and accomplices.

The latest wave of reaction and repression is clearly an attempt by the Khomeini/IRP regime to smash the Iranian revolutionary masses' opposition to its programme of re-establishing links with imperialism. It is also designed to terrorise the masses into silence and passivity in the face of the severe economic and social crisis gripping the country. The rapid rise of unemployment and inflation is creating bitter poverty and hunger; women are suffering increased oppression; the Kurdish people are subject to murderous bombardments and Kurdistan is being economically blockaded by the regime, while 2 million refugees created by the Iran/Iraq war are homeless and poverty stricken. The appalling suffering of Iranian workers and peasants will only

worsen if Iran once again becomes a vassal of imperialism.

The IRP's terror has not however succeeded in destroying the revolutionary resistance of the Iranian masses. A statement from the PMOI offices in Paris declares that:

'All the recent claims of the officials of the regime of Khomeini claiming to have obtained important revolutionary victories against the Mojahedin are nothing but fabricated lies. To this date the Mojahedin have suffered no strategic defeats and are now taking offensive positions.

The PMOI (in) a statement on 22 August in Tehran... warned all those responsible for torture and repression... that from now on they will all be punished for their crimes.'

Just 8 days after this statement, on Sunday 30 August, the President of Iran, Muhammed Ali Rajai and the Prime Minister, Muhammad Javad Bohonar, were executed by a people's bomb which ripped through the Prime Minister's offices. Coming so soon after the people's bombing of the IRP headquarters and the execution of its top leaders, this latest attack reveals the complete isolation of the regime, where even at the highest levels, the revolutionaries have ready supporters and assistants.

The revolutionary organisations, despite the extremely difficult conditions, are not only engaging in armed battles against the Khomeini/IRP regime, but are also politically preparing for its overthrow. This regime over the two years of its rule has demonstrated beyond doubt that it stands opposed to the revolutionary interests and aspirations of the Iranian workers and peasants.

Communists in Britain, without any hesitation, extend their solidarity and support to the PMOI, the OIPFG and all other revolutionary organisations attempting to preserve and take forward the gains of the anti-Shah revolution of 9 February 1979.

Eddie Abrahams

GRENADA

United States plans for Caribbean

Terrified of the success of the revolutionary movement in El Salvador and Guatemala, and in an attempt to strangle the revolutionary governments in Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua, the US Government is resorting to ever more open acts of aggression. It has adopted a 'Marshall Plan for the Caribbean', based on its successful post World War 2 plan to bolster shaky capitalist governments in Europe and undermine the governments of socialist countries through a policy of selective 'aid'.

The new plan aims to blockade Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada and to give aid only to those regimes which support this predatory US policy. At the same time a special unit has been established in the State Department responsible for Caribbean affairs, recognising this as 'an area of supreme strategic importance'. Its chief is the man who previously headed the US task force to El Salvador. At his disposal will be the newly formed 'rapid deployment forces' including navy and air-force units stationed in Florida.

These threats have failed to daunt the revolutionary defiance of the people. At a celebratory meeting of their revolutions, Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada, and Humberto Ortega, Commander-in-Chief of the People's Army of Nicaragua, challenged the US imperialists. Ortega declared:

'Do you know what makes us really strong – us, Nicaragua and Grenada? The fact that ours are people's revolutions, revolutions with deep roots and great support among the people. Any enemy realises that it is crazy to invade a country like this – crazy, because the same thing could happen that happened to Napoleon's troops in Spain... The enemy would come up against the people, it will have a very hard time getting out. That is the problem.'

US imperialism and its NATO allies are at this very moment preparing to invade Grenada. Imperialist forces, involving 250 ships, 1,000 aircraft and 120,000 troops are engaged in a practice invasion in the island of Vieques near Puerto Rico. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada has stated this to be a '... practice run for a direct invasion of Grenada by US troops'.

And with good reason! Grenada like Vieques is an island. The exercise involves the invasion of a country called Amber and the replacement of its 'unfriendly' government by a pro-US one. The exercise takes place on the southern tip of Vieques. The district on the southern tip of Grenada is called Amber and the island of Vieques has mountainous terrain like Grenada. Imperialism, ever ready to try and strangle revolutionary governments, is now directing its monstrous forces against the smallest revolutionary government in the Caribbean and Central America. The New Jewel Movement of Grenada (NJM) has launched an international campaign to stop this latest imperialist aggression. FRFI was proud to participate in the picket organised by the NJM outside the US embassy on Thursday 27 August and urges all readers to respond to the appeals of the revolutionary government and people of Grenada.

Imperialist Hands Off Grenada!

CENTRAL AMERICA

El Salvador

In its revolutionary war against the imperialist backed Junta, El Salvador's Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) has further strengthened its military positions. The FMLN has divided the country into 4 fronts and is fighting Junta forces in 10 out of the country's 14 provinces. Operations against banks, business premises, railways and the armed forces have multiplied and in 15 areas the FMLN maintain their control with stationary divisions. An FMLN communique in August announced the failure of the Junta's offensive against revolutionary controlled provinces of Guazepa, Chalatenango and Cabanas.

The US backed regime's response has been to intensify terror and sadistic repression. The indiscriminate murder of workers and peasants continues unabated, while Junta soldiers are now tying babies on anthills to be eaten alive. In a tactic learnt from the US in Vietnam, the regime is forcing the population on the El Salvador/Honduras border into 'strategic hamlets' – concentration camps – in an effort to isolate the FMLN from the people.

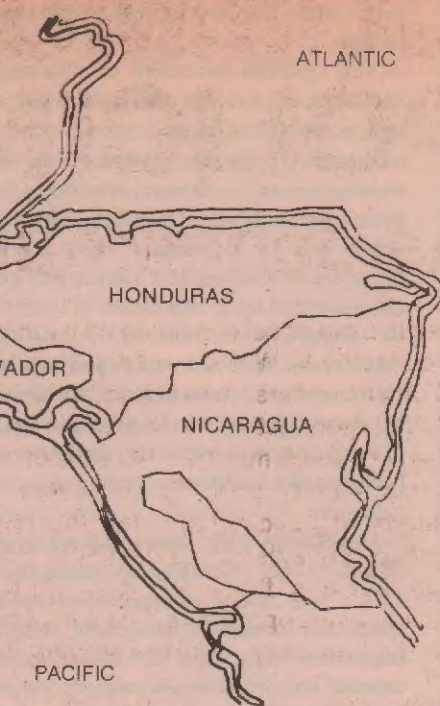
The FMLN, fully aware that the criminal Junta survives only because of massive US military aid, and fully aware that US imperialism will continue this aid, are preparing for a prolonged people's war. Their immediate aim is to consolidate and extend the popular army and FMLN controlled territory, to keep the Junta's forces in check and prepare for a nationwide popular insurrection.

Guatemala

The anti-imperialist war in Guatemala now equals in scope and intensity the war being fought in neighbouring El Salvador. An observer said of the guerrillas:

'They are well beyond the niggling stage and in many areas they simply have the army on the run.'

US imperialism, to save its massive investments, is beginning to pump military aid to the puppet Garcia regime. But it faces a determined and highly effective guerilla army. In 19 out of the country's 22 departments, the junta's forces are subject to devastating attacks by revolutionaries who are powerful enough to mount full scale frontal assaults on the Junta army. Since January this year the army has suffered over 1,000 casualties at the hands of the armed organisations of the masses, and is now in retreat in some of the most densely populated and economically important areas of the country. The Guerilla Army of the Poor (EGP) has recently opened up two new war fronts, one directed against the plundering oil companies and their



installations, the other against mining installations. With great frequency and regularity army garrisons are besieged and destroyed, banks and other commercial buildings blown up and bridges and communications sabotaged.

Before this onslaught, the Guatemalan junta is in retreat. Among the army's higher ranks corruption and demoralisation is rife, whilst in the lower ranks, Indian soldiers, subject to the same racism that the majority Indian population suffers, are increasingly practising fragging – lobbing fragmentation grenades into officers' messes. It is no surprise therefore that the Garcia regime is desperately appealing for huge military help from the US.

With or without US military assistance, the Guatemalan junta is watching its grave being dug by the revolutionaries, whose firm anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggle has won them the unbending support of the Guatemalan masses.

THE COMMUNIST TRADITION ON IRELAND PART SIX

THE IRA GOES ON THE OFFENSIVE

Imperialist exploitation over the whole of Ireland is maintained through the partition of Ireland. To secure Partition, British imperialism created in the six north-eastern counties of Ireland a reactionary loyalist police state. This state is based on the denial of basic democratic rights of the minority nationalist (Catholic) population in the Six Counties. Inevitably, the next major stage of the struggle for a united Ireland was to centre on this British-imposed loyalist statelet. And it was the struggle of the minority nationalist population for basic democratic rights in the late 1960s which laid the foundation for the reemergence of revolutionary nationalism as a mass force in the six north-eastern counties of Ireland.

However, from the ending of the civil war (1923) until the late 1960s, the social and political conditions did not exist to unite a mass movement behind a military and political campaign to defeat British imperialism. Nevertheless, in its efforts to keep the revolutionary tradition alive and an armed organisation intact, the IRA was to carry out two military campaigns – the first in England (1939-40) and the second in the Six Counties (1956-62).

The campaign in England 1939-40

Towards the end of the 1930s, the IRA sought to rebuild active support for the Republican Movement and decided to resume its military offensive against British imperialism. Preparations and training for a bombing campaign in England began in 1938. It was to be accompanied by a military campaign in the North, but in November 1938 three IRA men were killed on a mission to bomb customs posts when a faulty mine exploded in a house they were in near the border. This accident and some successful demolitions of customs posts increased RUC-Special Branch activity in the North. In December, 34 IRA men in the North were arrested and interned. This was to rule out any serious campaign in the North; however, it had little effect on the English campaign.

On 12 January 1939, the IRA delivered an ultimatum to the British government demanding the withdrawal of all British armed forces and civilian representatives from every part of Ireland. If the government refused, then the IRA would be 'compelled to intervene actively in the military and commercial life of your country as your Government are now intervening in ours'. The British government were given four days to respond. On 16 January 1939, the bombing campaign began with seven explosions in three centres, London, Birmingham and Manchester. The aim was sabotage of basic installations such as electricity, gas, water supplies and train services. By July, there had been 127 explosions and many Irishmen and women had been rounded up, arrested and convicted.

On 24 July, the government introduced an anti-Irish Prevention of Violence Bill with sweeping powers to demand the registration of all Irish people in Britain and to deport Irish citizens at will. The Bill was passed in five days – its modern equivalent, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, took less than three – and within a week 48 people had been expelled from Britain and five prohibited from entering Britain.

IRA volunteers were ordered to make every effort to avoid civilian casualties but in the course of the campaign civilians were injured and some were killed. On 25 August in Coventry, a bomb being taken by bike to a generating station blew up prematurely, killing 5 people and injuring over 50. The

police went through every Irish home in Coventry. Two men, Peter Barnes and James McCormack, were eventually arrested, and on very slender evidence were tried, convicted and executed. Barnes and McCormack, while IRA volunteers, had no direct responsibility for the Coventry explosion. But the British, as always, when dealing with the Irish, have never been in the slightest concerned with justice.

The judicial murder of Barnes and McCormack was not the only blow struck against the IRA and its supporters during the campaign. In England, 23 men and women were sentenced to 20 years in prison for their involvement in the campaign. 34 to 10-20 years, and 14 to under 5 years. In the 26 Counties of Ireland, the Fianna Fail government stepped up its repression of the IRA and its supporters. In June 1939, the Offences Against the State Act was passed and over 50 IRA men were interned. In April 1940 in Mountjoy prison, two IRA volunteers, Tony D'Arcy and Jack McNeela, died after a long hunger strike to demand treatment as political prisoners.

Faced with such blows and set-backs, in March 1940, the English campaign – the IRA's first major military effort since the Civil War – came to an end. It would take some time before the IRA would be able to rebuild its organisation and resources and gather together the necessary support to conduct another military campaign against British imperialism.

The response of the British Labour and socialist movement to the IRA campaign followed what was by now a familiar pattern. The violence, brutality and injustice of British imperialism, if opposed at all, was only opposed on the grounds that it created support for a revolutionary opposition to imperialism among the oppressed. The real hostility, however, was usually reserved for the revolutionary forces fighting British imperialism.

The argument always contained some hollow gesture of support for a united Ireland. But invariably, it condemned those actually resorting to force to obtain it. So, at the time of the debate on the Prevention of Violence Bill, Arthur Greenwood, the Labour MP, could say

'Terrorist methods... would achieve nothing... Many MPs on both sides of the

House would like to see a united Ireland, but the way a minority had chosen would defeat its own object...'.
(Daily Herald 25 July 1939)

However, if the minority uses force, the Labour Party made it clear that it must be put down

'Believing that IRA terrorism must be stopped, the Labour Party will not vote against the IRA Bill which is to be debated this afternoon and rushed through all its stages by Wednesday night...'.
(Daily Herald 24 July 1939)

There was some concern (amendments were proposed) that measures taken against the IRA might go too far and 'do violence to the liberties of the law-abiding British subject'. And that widespread repression could stir up much wider opposition to British rule in Ireland. So, Wedgewood Benn (the father of Anthony Wedgewood Benn) warned the government

'If you punish an innocent man, your quarrel will not be with the IRA, it will be with Ireland, and you will stir up the hatred of Irish Americans'.
(Daily Herald 25 July 1939)

That even these qualifications did not go very far in the Labour Party was shown when only 17 Labour MPs voted against the anti-Irish Prevention of Violence Bill. And Wedgewood Benn was not included among them. Their overriding concern was clearly to crush any support that existed for the IRA.

The Communist Party reported the bombing campaign with little or no comment. But an Editorial on the Prevention of Violence Bill showed a significant change of position from that held by communists at the time of Partition. The Communist Party opposed the Prevention of Violence Bill on the grounds that it would be used as an excuse to attack British liberty. But they had no qualms about the police attacking the IRA

'It is wrong to describe this measure as an anti-IRA Bill. It uses the bombing activities of the IRA as an excuse for attacking British liberty...'.
'Will they (the police) know the difference between those who support an Irish Republic and the small group who are mis-using the historic name of the Irish Republican Army...'.
(Daily Worker 26 July 1939)

Later, in an Editorial opposing the forthcoming executions of Barnes and McCormack, the main features of the new position became clear. The Communist Party, while 'understanding' the motives of the IRA condemned its actual struggle to achieve a united Ireland:

'We are against terrorism in politics and we have condemned the IRA bombings. But we understand the motives and the principles which actuate these Irish patriots. They want their country to be free, independent and united'.
(Daily Worker 3 February 1940)

Did this mean that the Communist Party which recognised that Ireland had been divided by the force of arms would no longer defend those committed to unite Ireland by the force of arms? What was clear was that the new position was a reactionary one. Real communists would after all have opposed, without any qualifications whatsoever, both the execution of Barnes and McCormack and the Prevention of Violence Bill. And real communists would have stated that the responsibility for any injuries and deaths during the campaign lay with British imperialism.



The Border Campaign 1956-62

It took 16 years before the IRA had the resources and organisation to launch a new military campaign against British imperialism. This took place in the Six Counties and was concentrated on the border.

At Bodinstown in 1949, the IRA made a declaration that force would no longer be used against the 26 Counties Irish government but only against the British forces of occupation in the Six Counties. It was thought that this position, formally incorporated into 'General Army Orders' in 1954, would induce Dublin to tolerate the campaign and the use of the 26 Counties as a staging post for their actions in the Six Counties. This was to prove a major miscalculation.

Plans for a campaign were drawn up in 1951. The first steps towards getting the campaign underway consisted of raids on British military barracks and armaments depots to obtain additional supplies of arms and ammunition. A very successful raid occurred in 1951 at the Ebrington Territorial Barracks, Derry. The haul included 20 Lee Enfield rifles, twenty sten guns as well as a number of machine-guns. Two raids in England failed, one at Felstead, Essex in 1953 and the other at the Arborfield Depot, Berkshire in 1955. In both cases large hauls of arms were taken but in each case the vehicle carrying the arms was stopped by police and the arms were captured before they could be got away. As a result of the Felstead raid, Sean Mac Stiofain, Cathal Goulding and Manus Canning were arrested and imprisoned for 8 years. After being sentenced, Cathal Goulding, on behalf of the other prisoners, declared

'We believe that the only way to drive the British Army from our Country is by force of arms, for that purpose we think it no crime to capture arms from our enemies.'

The most successful raid, which aroused considerable support and new recruits for the IRA, was that at the Gough barracks, Armagh, in June 1954. There the haul included 340 rifles and 50 sten guns. A few more largely unsuccessful raids were to take place before the commencement of the campaign. 8 men were arrested and given long prison sentences as a result of the raid at the Omagh military barracks in October 1954. Those imprisoned rapidly gained support amongst the nationalist population for both the daring character of the raid itself and their principled conduct during the trial.

A Westminster election was called in May 1955. The IRA, through Sinn Fein, decided to contest the elections on an abstentionist platform and show they had a popular mandate for the coming campaign. They named candidates for all twelve seats, half of them prisoners who were in jail for the Omagh raid, and made it clear that they would not stand down for anyone. The bourgeois Nationalist Party, a nominal 'opposition' in the Six Counties loyalist parliament, were faced with a dilemma – much like the SDLP in the election of Bobby Sands and Owen Carron during the current hunger-strike campaign. Running a candidate against Sinn Fein would split the nationalist vote and allow the Unionists to win. If that happened, and with the likelihood of them getting a much lower vote than Sinn Fein, the Nationalist Party would rapidly lose any of the support they still had. They decided it was better not to stand especially after Phil Clarke, nominated by Sinn Fein, had been selected as nationalist candidate for Fermanagh-South Tyrone in preference to Cahir Healy, the Nationalist Party MP. During the fight for the nomination, Cahir Healy had denounced the policies of 'physical force' and 'abstentionism'.

Sinn Fein obtained a total of 152,310 votes in the election and won the two nationalist seats of Mid-



Funeral of Sean South - January 1957

Ulster and Fermanagh-South Tyrone. It was the biggest anti-partition vote since 1921. Sinn Féin had won the allegiance of the nationalist population on a platform stressing only the national issue and with candidates who supported the armed struggle of the IRA. This vote reflected the growing hostility of the nationalist population to the openly repressive loyalist police state.

Since the candidates elected, Tom Mitchell for Mid-Ulster and Phil Clarke for Fermanagh-South Tyrone, were 'convicted felons', both serving sentences for the Omagh raid, under British 'democracy' they were ineligible to be elected and to hold their seats. The defeated Unionist candidate in Fermanagh-South Tyrone filed an election petition in June to have Clarke unseated and himself declared elected. This eventually occurred after the defeat of a small opposition to it in the Westminster parliament led by the Labour MP Sidney Silverman supported by some left-wing Labour MPs. So much for parliamentary democracy.

As no petition was filed, the seat in Mid-Ulster was declared vacant and a by-election called in August 1955. Tom Mitchell ran again and was elected with an increased majority over the Unionist. He was again disqualified but it was found that the Unionist candidate was ineligible to take his seat because he had held an 'office of profit under the Crown'. A third by-election was held in May 1956 and this time the Nationalist Party stood a candidate. Tom Mitchell stood again and won four times as many votes as the Nationalist Party candidate - the latter losing his deposit. But the Unionist won the seat as the nationalist vote had been split. No-one could doubt, however, where the sympathies of the nationalist population lay. British imperialism had shown time and again that it would never voluntarily heed the democratically expressed wishes of the nationalist population. British imperialism had only ever been moved when confronted by revolutionary force. The outcome of the election, therefore, showed that there would be support among the nationalist minority in the Six Counties for the military campaign planned by the IRA.

At the beginning of 1956, a plan of campaign 'Operation Harvest' was drawn up by Sean Cronin. The plan was to attack the North with the aim of destroying installations and public property on such a scale as to paralyse the Six Counties. The campaign aimed to use the methods of guerilla warfare 'within the occupied area' and as support built up liberate large areas 'where the enemy's writ no longer runs'. The plan, a version of which was captured by the security forces in January 1957 after a raid, was considerably modified in practice.

The IRA decided to avoid action in Belfast because it was felt that this might provoke a loyalist backlash and lead to attacks on the nationalist areas. There was some dispute within the IRA as to whether they would have the resources and organisation to defend the nationalist areas in Belfast. And the arrest of the Belfast organiser before the beginning of the campaign finally decided the issue. But this indicated a problem for a campaign which had the aim of paralysing the Six Counties. Belfast, the political administrative and economic centre of the loyalist state was to be left alone.

There was a great deal of pressure within the IRA to launch a military campaign in the Six Counties. In 1951, Liam Kelly had been expelled for taking unauthorised action. He took most of the eastern Tyrone organisation with him and soon set up a new armed organisation, Saor Uladh. In June 1956, Joe Christle, a militant IRA member impatient with the lack of action, was expelled from the IRA and he took most of the young Dublin activists with him. His group and Saor Uladh were to link up in

September 1956 and were to carry out a number of combined attacks on customs posts on the border in November 1956. These developments no doubt enabled those in the IRA leadership wanting to launch the military campaign to win the argument over their more cautious comrades.

The campaign began on the night of 11-12 December 1956. About 150 men blew up targets in the Six Counties around or near the border area: a BBC transmitter, a barracks, a territorial army building, a magistrates court; and a number of bridges were damaged or destroyed. The response of the loyalist government was immediate. It introduced internment and more than 100 northern IRA men were rounded up. By 1958, nearly 187 were held. 'Unapproved roads' in border areas were blown up by British army sappers and bridges were destroyed. 3,000 RUC men and 12,000 B-Specials were called into action and were joined by British Army Scout cars. The North was turned into an armed camp. South of the border, the number of guards doubled and the Gardaí continually harassed and arrested IRA men. On 16 December, the Gardaí arrested part of the IRA Army Council and eleven other members of the IRA. They were, however, this time released the same day, but the signs were ominous.

On New Year's Eve two RUC barracks were attacked in Fermanagh, and during the attack at Brookeborough two IRA men were killed. The two men, Sean South and Fergal O'Hanlon, became national heroes in the 26 Counties and thousands attended their funerals - some 50,000 following Sean South's funeral in Limerick. There was an up-surge of support for the IRA, and much resentment when the Taoiseach John Costello, head of the coalition government in the South, in January 1957, had most of the IRA Army Council rounded up and jailed for short terms under the Offences Against the State Act.

On 28 January 1957 Sean MacBride, the leader of Clann na Poblachta, a party with Republican sympathies, which had joined the coalition government, was forced by rank-and-file pressure to move a vote of no confidence in the government. This was both on economic grounds and its failure to pursue a positive policy on the reunification of Ireland. It was precipitated by the government's continual harassment of the IRA. The Government was defeated and the Dail dissolved. A new election took place on 5 March. Fianna Fail was returned with a clear majority. De Valera was now back in power.

For the election, Sinn Féin nominated 19 candidates, many of them prisoners, campaigning solely on the national issue and on an abstentionist platform. Four were elected and Sinn Féin received 65,640 votes - the highest total they had received in the South since 1927, about 6% of the total vote. However this was to represent the high point of support for the Republican Movement during the Border Campaign.

Fianna Fail under de Valera had little or no inhibitions about suppressing the IRA. Besides, the economy was in difficulties, unemployment having reached 70,000 and emigration at its highest point since the 1880s. De Valera needed to improve trading relations with Britain and quite clearly wasn't going to let the IRA get in the way. On 6-7 July 1957,

soon after an IRA ambush of a RUC patrol in Co Armagh, internment was reintroduced in the South. All the Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle (national committee) except one, most of the Army Council and GHQ staff and many IRA men in the country were soon in the Curragh internment camp. It was a crushing blow. However, the IRA infrastructure in the Six Counties, hardened by coercion, still existed and functioned. But any idea of escalating the campaign was now ruled out. The campaign never regained the momentum of the initial attack. While in the first month of the campaign, December 1956, there had been 25 operations and in 1957 a total of 341, during 1959 there were only 27 incidents and in 1960 there were 26. Support for the IRA gradually fell away. In the October 1959 Westminster elections, Sinn Féin contested twelve seats, won none of them and received less than half the votes they obtained in 1955. In October 1961, there was an election in the South and Sinn Féin lost all four seats they won in 1957, their vote dropping to 36,393. The arrests, internment, repression and increased security had taken their toll. Political backing for the campaign now was down to the hard Republican core. The campaign had to be called off.

The IRA Army Council ordered their volunteers to dump arms on 26 February 1962. In a statement on the ending of the campaign it said

'The decision to end the resistance campaign has been taken in view of the general situation. Foremost among the factors motivating this course of action has been the attitude of the general public whose minds have been deliberately distracted from the supreme issue facing the Irish people - the unity and freedom of Ireland.'

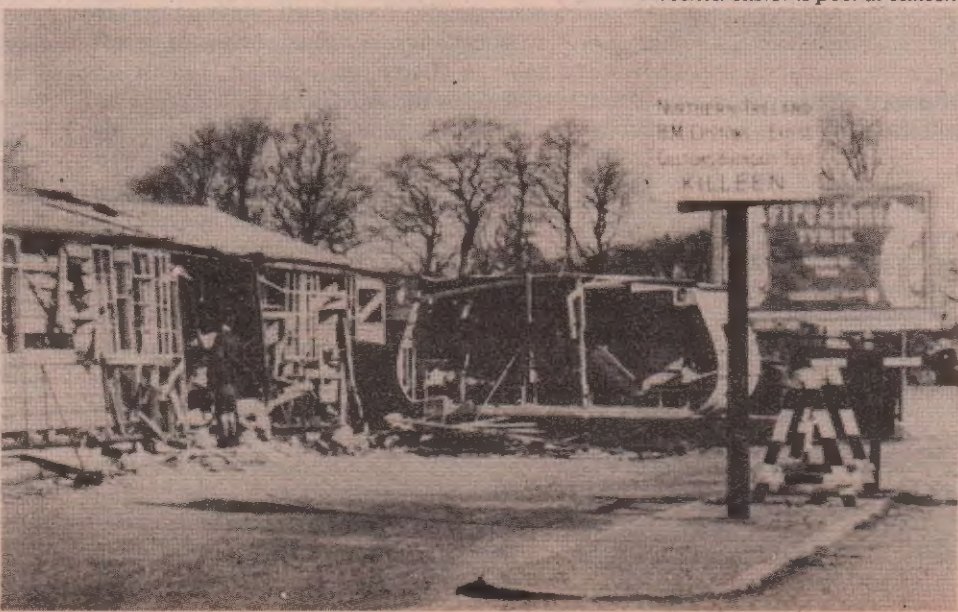
That is, the campaign had to be ended because of the falling away of support. During the campaign, eight IRA men and one sympathiser, two Saor Uladh members, and six RUC men had been killed. Outright damage in the Six Counties was assessed at £1 million and the cost of increased police and military patrols at £10 millions. But the campaign had failed. Stormont had hardly been touched.

Why did the campaign fail? Was the IRA finished? Could the revolutionary armed struggle to drive British imperialism out of Ireland ever succeed? These were questions being asked both inside and outside the Republican Movement after this defeat. The answers given to them were to have important repercussions in the movement over the next ten years.

There were many who put down the defeat to the IRA/Sinn Féin concentration on the armed struggle and the failure of the Republican Movement to take up broader 'economic and social issues'. That is, in the terms of those who argued in this way, the failure of the IRA to become more 'political'. Those arguing this position in the Republican Movement were to become the dominant trend over the next seven years with near disastrous consequences when the next phase of armed struggle began.

A typical 'left-wing' analysis of the defeat along similar lines is expressed by Michael Farrell, a leading member of People's Democracy (now part of the Fourth International)

Wrecked customs post at Killeen



and a Trotskyist. He argued that the IRA's explanation of the defeat was inadequate. They could not simply 'blame the people' for not supporting them. The failure of the 1956-62 campaign, according to Farrell, was due to the fact that

'...the IRA was in possibly the most unpolitical phase of its history...and the IRA, while despising parliamentary politicians, was deeply suspicious of left-wing politics. They had no policy other than physical force and no serious political organisation to mobilise their supporters and channel their energies into the mass resistance which is complementary to all guerilla campaigns...'

And yet it was precisely those who would be regarded as 'political' from Farrell's standpoint, who went on to betray the movement during the next decade. And it was just those who, with very good reasons, deeply distrusted 'politics' who eventually founded the Provisional IRA - an organisation that, in the latest phase of struggle has held British imperialism at bay for over 12 years on the basis of mass support of the nationalist population in the Six Counties. It is Farrell's explanation that is inadequate. There is a great deal which Farrell, because of his own political standpoint, cannot begin to explain.

The revolutionary wing of the national movement has always made the unification of Ireland its central goal. It is the key to any social progress in the whole of Ireland. It is the pre-condition for uniting the Irish working class. And finally, it has been established, time and again, that it can only be achieved by revolutionary means - by an armed struggle to drive British imperialism out of Ireland. Those who counterpose 'political'/'economic and social' agitation to the armed struggle to reunite Ireland have not understood the centrality of the national question for the Irish revolution and the Irish working class.

The Border Campaign showed two things. The first was that the social and political conditions still did not exist to unite a mass movement behind a military and political struggle to defeat British imperialism in Ireland. The second was that the Republican Movement made a major political error in its approach to the neo-colonial government in the 26 Counties. Let us examine them in turn.

The campaign aimed to bring the Six Counties to a standstill. It intended, as support built up, to liberate large areas 'where the enemy's writ no longer runs'. In attempting to do this, it faced almost insurmountable obstacles. The Six Counties was artificially created by British imperialism precisely to give the loyalists an inbuilt majority. Two-thirds of the population of the Six Counties are Protestant, the majority of whom are opposed to a united Ireland. The IRA would not only have to face the armed paramilitary forces of the loyalist state backed by the British army, but, in many areas, a hostile Protestant population as well. Under these circumstances only the active support of large sections of the nationalist population for the armed struggle and determined resistance to the loyalist state could guarantee a basis for a continuing military campaign.

In fact it was only in the border areas where the IRA could count on anything like widespread popular support. The decision not to engage in any actions in the Belfast area was an expression of this reality. This was a fundamental factor behind the failure of the campaign. Conditions do not permanently exist where there is active support for the armed struggle to drive British imperialism out of Ireland.

By the end of the 1960s, conditions were to rapidly change. The repression directed against the Civil Rights campaign had demonstrated in practice that the loyalist state was unreformable and would have to be destroyed. The revolutionary standpoint of the IRA was vindicated. The nationalist population of Derry and Belfast were to be left with no choice. They turned to the IRA demanding that it take up arms to defend the nationalist population against the paramilitary forces of the reactionary loyalist police state.

continued overleaf

The IRA goes on the offensive

continued from page 9

The belief that a declaration not to engage in actions in the 26 Counties would lead the Dublin government to tolerate the campaign was a major political error. Once Fianna Fail had introduced internment and rounded up most of the political and military leadership of the Republican Movement, the campaign suffered a blow from which it could not recover.

Since 1914, the Irish capitalist class has always worked hand-in-glove with British imperialism to destroy the revolutionary national struggle to unite Ireland. It has no more interest in creating the conditions for a united Irish working class than has British imperialism. The political parties of the Irish capitalist class, Cumann na nGaedheal (Fine Gael) and Fianna Fail, have, since the Civil War, taken every opportunity to crush the IRA. The capitalist neo-colonial state in the 26 Counties is a barrier on the way to a united independent Irish Republic. It, just like the loyalist state in the North, will have to be destroyed if British imperialism is to be defeated in Ireland.

By 1958, Fianna Fail was about to embark on a policy of export-oriented growth through a massive influx of foreign capital, mainly British and US, into Ireland. Throughout the next two decades, Ireland's economic dependence on imperialism would grow. At the time of the Border Campaign Fianna Fail was already looking to better economic relations with Britain to stabilise the crisis-ridden Irish economy. It was in no position to tolerate a resurgence of the armed struggle of the IRA against British imperialism. The writing was on the wall. In spite of bitter experience in the past and many warnings to the contrary, the IRA ignored this. As a result, the organisation suffered a devastating blow.

Communists and the Border Campaign

The initial raids in December 1956 were responded to with the predictable denunciations in Dublin, London and Belfast. However, the Soviet Union, through *Pravda* denied British claims that the raids were only isolated actions without popular support. It argued in defence of the campaign that 'Irish patriots cannot agree with Britain transferring the Six Counties into one of its main military bases in the Atlantic pact'.

The British Communist Party's coverage of the campaign consisted on the whole of short factual reports without comment. However, a major article on the campaign by Desmond Greaves in January 1957 continued with the change of position that had come to the fore after the 1939-40 campaign. But this time without *directly* condemning the IRA. In an article called 'You May Disagree with their Methods, but the IRA have Just Aims', Greaves outlined a position which is transitional to the openly reactionary standpoint of the CPGB today.

Greaves attacks Press propaganda which denounced the IRA as 'bandits, thugs and murderers' and explains their methods and tactics on the basis of what he regarded as their class position

'In its barest terms, the tactics of the IRA are those of the progressive lower-middle class continued into the period when the working class *should* be leading the struggle for national independence, but (for historical reasons) *is not*'.

The aim of the IRA, a united independent Ireland is 'progressive and should receive the support of every British worker'. However, the *method* of achieving this aim is in the hands of British workers to decide.

'The British workers could, and should insist and use their power to ensure that all

effort to keep Ireland divided and dependent ceases forthwith.

If we, the working class, do not do our job, then others will conduct the struggle and, of course, they will use the methods which their class position gives rise to'.

He then goes on to make it clear that if there were no Partition there would be no IRA and after arguing that British workers need neither adopt nor accept responsibility for IRA tactics he says:

'... it is the private business of the various political organisations in Ireland what tactics they choose in their struggle for their rights'.
(*Daily Worker* 3 January 1957)

Greaves' position is deliberately evasive on the question of armed struggle and is, therefore, open to thoroughly reactionary conclusions. The armed struggle cannot be put down to the tactics of the 'progressive lower-middle class'. The armed struggle is adopted by all classes, including the working class, as and when necessary to reach the desired goal. Has Greaves forgotten that Connolly was one of the leaders of the Easter Rising? Greaves, in fact, refuses to say whether British workers should be *for* or *against* the armed struggle that the IRA is *actually* conducting in the fight for a united independent Irish Republic. Communists cannot be evasive on this issue. They must take sides.

'National self-determination is the same as the struggle for complete national liberation, for complete independence, against annexation, and socialists *cannot*—without ceasing to be socialists—reject such a struggle in whatever form, right down to an uprising or war.' (Lenin 1916)

The communist standpoint is clear and it is Greaves who has broken with it.

The debate following Greaves' article showed what was at stake. A letter from John Harris opposing Greaves drew out openly reactionary consequences:

'For Desmond Greaves to describe the acts of terrorism perpetrated by the IRA as "tactics" is complete nonsense... who knows, the use of terror may even be extended to London, in which case Desmond Greaves would be hard put to explain them away'.
(*Daily Worker* 5 January 1957)

Indeed he would! And when the campaign was extended to London in the 1970s the CPGB, along with most of the British Left, condemned the IRA.

Letters in the *Daily Worker* of 9 January 1957 in reply to John Harris expressed the real communist standpoint. One argued that John Harris' anger was misdirected:

'Let John Harris direct his anger against himself and his fellow-members of the British Labour and trade union movement who have been too indifferent far too long to the injustice of the British-imposed partition of Ireland...'

Another pointed out that the struggle of the IRA aided the British workers' struggle for socialism

'What Mr Harris does not realise is that any blow, whether by the IRA or anyone else, struck at British imperialism, helps the British people towards socialism'.

Revolutionary nationalism vs revisionism

After the end of the Border Campaign the IRA was in disarray. Disputes that had flared up among the leadership in the Curragh internment camp during the campaign created bitter divisions in the movement and led to many resignations. And there were bitter recriminations from some against those who had called off the campaign.

It is precisely in such periods of demoralisation and defeat that revisionist influences can take root in a revolutionary movement. And that is what happened. Unfortunately, these new influences were associated with 'socialist' and 'communist' politics. In fact, the 'socialism' of this new trend had little in common

with the communist tradition. On the contrary, the views and positions of those involved, as later events were to conclusively confirm, put these so-called 'socialists' and 'communists' in the 'evolutionary socialist', revisionist camp of the Second International. The Communist International, in fact, was formed in opposition to this trend (see FRFI 8).

When the turmoil in the movement was over, Cathal Goulding became Chief-of-Staff of the IRA, a Dublin accountant Tomas Mac Giolla became President of Sinn Féin and a computer scientist, Dr Roy Johnston, considered to be a Marxist, became the movement's education officer. All these three were to play a leading role in the creation of the Official IRA—later to become the pro-imperialist, pro-Stormont Sinn Féin the Workers Party.

Many on the Left have portrayed the dispute between the two trends in the Republican Movement as that between socialism and a narrow nationalism, between 'political' agitation on 'social and economic issues' and 'physical force' Republicanism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The split was over the way forward for the Republican Movement. It involved choosing between the revisionist and the revolutionary national position on the fundamental issues of the Irish revolution: can imperialism be reformed; the centrality of the national question; the question of armed struggle; the question of participation in the imperialist-imposed partitionist parliaments, Stormont and Leinster House, and the imperialist parliament itself at Westminster.

Sean Mac Stiofain



Sean Mac Stiofain, the first Chief-of-Staff of the Provisional IRA made it clear when commenting on the new trend which developed in the Republican Movement after 1962, that revolutionary nationalists were not opposed to agitation on economic and social issues as such. Only that they saw the real danger of such agitation being separated from the national question.

'By 1964, however, it was apparent that some of the new leadership were heading off in a very different direction. They were becoming obsessed with the idea of parliamentary politics and wished to confine the movement almost entirely to social and economic agitation. It went without saying that agitation on social and economic issues was part of the struggle for justice. But I believed that we should not allow ourselves to get so committed to it that we would lose sight of the main objective, to free Ireland from British rule. It was British domination which had led to many of the abuses, and injustices that called for social agitation'.

Mac Stiofain's doubts were confirmed in 1969 when the IRA found itself totally unprepared to defend the beleaguered nationalist population in Derry and Belfast against the B-Specials and RUC thugs.

Cathal Goulding further confirms Mac Stiofain's view in an interview he gave in 1970. After putting down the failure of the 1956-62 campaign to the people 'having no real knowledge of our objectives' he stated how they intended to overcome this:

'Our first objective... was to involve ourselves in the everyday problems of people; to organise them to demand better houses, working conditions, better jobs, better pay, better education—to develop agitational activities along these lines. By doing this, we felt that we could involve the people, *not so much in supporting the Republican Movement for our political ends* but in supporting agitation so that they themselves

would be part of a revolutionary force demanding what the present system couldn't produce'. (*our emphasis*)

The roots of future revisionism lie in this statement. First we will take up the 'everyday problems of the people' and then... the national question. But this is a break from the revolutionary nationalist position. For it separates the social and economic issues facing the people from their source—British domination over Ireland. The centrality of the national question for the Irish people is, in fact, put to one side, to be taken up at a later stage.

The revisionist trends within the movement soon became embodied into a political programme. It contained nine proposals the most important of which was to abolish the traditional policy of parliamentary abstentionism—one of the most important foundations of the Republican Movement. It proposed that Republican candidates if elected would take their seats in the Dublin, Stormont and Westminster parliaments. It was this issue which directly precipitated the split. But at the heart of the division was the defence by the Provisional IRA of the revolutionary nationalist position.

The Provisional IRA knew that imperialism could never play a progressive role. They understood that the Stormont parliament in the North, and the Leinster House parliament in the South, creations of imperialism, had to be destroyed if a united Irish Republic was to be achieved. Finally, they recognised and proclaimed the necessity of revolutionary armed struggle if British imperialism was to be driven out of Ireland.

A great deal has been made of the 'anti-communism' of the Provisionals in the first few years of their existence. This attitude derived from their actual experience of so-called communist organisations in Britain and Ireland. These organisations had long since broken with the communist tradition. The Communist Party of Ireland after the war took what can only be regarded as a pro-Unionist position, participating in elections in the North, and opportunistically abandoning an anti-partitionist position. The CPI went so far as to organise itself on partitionist lines creating separate parties for the Six Counties and 26 Counties. Many individual so-called 'communists', and associated groups, the Connolly Association, the CP of Northern Ireland, the Irish Workers' Party, were all involved in supporting or building up the revisionist trend in the Republican Movement. Also the British Communist Party had long since given up a principled position on the question of Ireland. Mac Stiofain quite clearly explained his position

'Certainly as revolutionaries we were automatically anti-capitalist. But we refused to have anything to do with any communist organisation in Ireland, on the basis of their ineffectiveness, their reactionary foot-dragging on the national question, and their opposition to armed struggle.'

The final word on the two trends in the Republican Movement can safely be left to an article printed in the Provisional's newspaper *An Phoblacht* of June 1971

'Other contenders for the title of Republicanism (and there are many) will term the revolutionary as the one with the most in political jargon of the Left—the pious exhortation to the people to rise to a socialist Utopia before ever attaining National Unity—freedom and independence—or the misguided idea that sitting in Leinster House is "a new weapon in the hands of the revolutionary". You don't destroy something by joining it and giving it credibility and credence. You don't break up an oil slick by swimming through it—you burn it. The real revolutionary is the man who sees the issues clearly, preaches the alternatives and risks his neck (not his necessary popularity and Dail seat) in the destruction of imperialism.'

David Reed
August 1981

to be continued

MORNING STAR DEBATE - IRA AND ANC

The growing crisis of imperialism has seen an intensification of the repression directed against oppressed peoples throughout the world. But it has also led to the increasingly effective fightback of all those forces determined to free their countries from imperialist domination and control. A unity of interests is developing between national liberation movements which have taken up the armed struggle to win their freedom and destroy their oppressors. Communists in Britain take their stand alongside these movements for they know that a blow struck against British imperialism anywhere, whether by the IRA in Ireland or the ANC in South Africa, helps the British working class in its struggle for socialism.

This growing unity between all these forces determined to destroy imperialism has created a serious problem for the CPGB. For while the CPGB supports the ANC in its armed struggle against the racist South African police state, it hysterically denounces the armed struggle of the IRA against the equally reactionary loyalist police state in the occupied Six Counties of Ireland. Some members of the CPGB are clearly disturbed. Questions have been asked and pressure must now be great enough for the leadership of the CPGB to attempt to come up with an answer. Bert Ward was given the job.

It appears that the difference lies in the political conditions facing the two liberation movements. Bert Ward argued that:

'The opportunities to conduct political struggle in Northern Ireland and South Africa are qualitatively different. It is true that the rule of law was always absent from both South Africa and Northern Ireland. But the opportunity to organise in Northern Ireland was, and is, far superior to that in South Africa'. (*Morning Star* 5 August 1981)

The example he gives is an unfortunate one. That is, of the mass Civil Rights movement in the Six Counties from the late 1960s to 1972. For that was simply batoned off the streets. Bert Ward's attempt to 'recollect' that period

leaves out a whole series of events. Let us list a few.

- The murder of nine-year-old Patrick Rooney by RUC thugs in 1969 (before the Provisional IRA was formed).
- The mob attacks by the RUC and B-Specials and other loyalist thugs on the nationalist areas of Derry and Belfast.
- The shoot-to-kill orders issued by the British Army in early 1970.
- The illegal Falls Road curfew in July 1970.
- The introduction of internment in August 1971.

And then we had Bloody Sunday January 1972 when, as Bert Ward points out, 14 people were murdered by British paratroops firing on a peaceful demonstration of 20,000 people. What more evidence does Bert Ward want? The use of torture, frame-ups, non-jury courts, assassination teams of the SAS, the Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act - need we go on? To talk of opportunities to conduct 'political struggle' in this context is simply evasion. It will not do.

Howard Smith recognised this. He knew the argument was weak and needed strengthening. So he wrote to the *Morning Star*. His argument was that the ANC has never 'abandoned its commitment, in theory and practice, to mass struggle and the need to unite the

whole of the oppressed people' whereas by contrast

'the Provisional IRA's armed and violent campaign has not been strategically or tactically interwoven with the politics of mass campaigning' (*Morning Star* 11 August 1981)

But this argument is even further from the truth. The massive election vote in the victories of Bobby Sands, an IRA volunteer, and Owen Carron, a member of Provisional Sinn Féin, in Fermanagh and South Tyrone, conclusively shows this. They also give a further blow to Bert Ward's stand. After the election the British government did not move an inch - it continued to ignore the demands of those on hunger strike. And then it took steps, after the murder of Bobby Sands, to make sure that Irish political prisoners would not again be allowed to stand as candidates in parliamentary elections. Time and again

history has shown, especially in Ireland, that British imperialism will not be moved unless confronted by revolutionary force. This is the historical justification of the armed struggle of the IRA. This is why the IRA has held the British Army at bay for over 12 years with the massive support of the nationalist population in the Six Counties.

All that really needs to be explained is why the CPGB will not support the IRA. CPGB member Patrick O'Keefe gave part of the answer:

'The struggle in Northern Ireland is too close to home. It is easy to accept violence in a far-off country'. (*Morning Star* 28 August 1981)

He needed to add that to support the IRA also demands an open stand against the British state and its allies. And such a stand is not compatible with the CPGB's belief that British imperialism can be peacefully reformed. Nor with the alliance that the CPGB is attempting to build up with the imperialist Labour Party. It is not possible to support the Irish struggle in any practical sense while supporting a party which has openly betrayed the British and Irish working class throughout its history.

DR

DEBATE IRELAND: A DEBATE BETWEEN THE CPGB AND THE RCG

FRIDAY OCTOBER 9 7.30 PM

Small Hall, Conway Hall
(Red Lion Square - Nearest Tube Holborn)
RCG SPEAKER - Terry Marlowe CPGB SPEAKER - Chris Myant
CHAIRMAN - Alastair Logan

NOTES & COMMENTS

From Ireland to Oman

In August this year, the British Government sent General (Sir Timothy) Creasy to take charge of the armed forces of the reactionary regime in Oman. He will be under the command of the Sandhurst trained pro-imperialist Sultan of Oman - Qaboos Bin Said. Creasey joins 100 other British soldiers training and equipping the Omani Army, Navy and Air Force. He is to help train and co-ordinate them in the tactics of terror and oppression which he was using two years ago in Ireland: from 1977 to 1979 Creasey commanded the British Army in Northern Ireland. Just as then his job was to oppress the Irish people and try to defeat the Republican Movement, so now his job is to attempt to crush the liberation movement in Oman.

Oman is important to British imperialism for two reasons: Firstly, the regime in Oman provides Britain with trading profits of £100 million per year (latest figures); Secondly, Oman is of vital strategic importance for imperialism, being situated in the Arab Gulf, to the south of the Straits of Hormuz (through which passes much of the West's oil). The appointment of Creasey coincides with a massive £135 million sale of arms to Oman, and Thatcher's recent visit to neighbouring Saudi Arabia. The significance attached by the British state to the reactionary Omani regime was shown by a recent military show - the Cardiff 'Tattoo' - at which a section of the Omani police force, wearing their British style chequered police caps, were the prize guests.

Creasey takes with him to Oman a wealth of counter-revolutionary experi-

ence. Between 1972 and 1975 he commanded the armed forces in Oman, temporarily defeating uprisings in the Dhofar province (on the border with the Yemen Republic). This was followed by his taking control of the British army in Ireland in 1977. It was in 1979 that a captured Army document admitted their inability to defeat the stubborn resistance of the Irish people led by the IRA.

Creasey left Ireland to take command of the UK land forces. However, his enthusiasm for 'action' (ie. murder and counter-revolution) has led him to postpone his planned retirement and use his experience against those who struggle for liberation in Oman. We trust that the revolutionaries in Oman will prove as steadfast as those in Ireland against whom Creasey so publicly failed.

Unemployed youth commit suicide

On 7 May this year, two unemployed teenagers from Widnes - Graeme Rathborne and Sean Grant - committed suicide

Capitalism drove them to commit suicide. In a note they left, they revealed the emptiness and hopelessness to which their short lives had been reduced by a system concerned only with making profits:

'What have we left to live for now that there is no work for anyone? All teenagers have to do is hang around street corners getting moved on by police who think you are up to something... the young are turning to crime and violence. What else is left?'

But the real criminals in this tragic story are the Labour Party and trade union leaderships. Two young men were driven to

destroy their own lives, instead of destroying the system that grinds them down. This is an indictment of the Labour Party and trade union leadership. It is they who have abandoned the youth to despair. It is they who have refused to offer the youth any hope and vision for struggle against the ravages of unemployment and police harassment. It is they who have stood aside whilst unemployment climbs to 3 million. It is they who are standing aside, whilst the police wreak revenge against those thousands of youth who dared stand up and fight during the uprisings of July 1981.

The New Standard quoted the Widnes police who claimed:

'...there was constant trouble with these two... They were well known in the area for being layabouts.'

Such is the way the ruling class treats its victims. But it is no worse than that of the working class leadership who left the youth to despair and self-destruction. The youth of Widnes who have daubed the town with slogans - Raffy and Sean live on! - will avenge the death of their two friends when they join in organised battle against the murderous system of capitalism.

Opportunity to exploit youth

Fearing the political consequences of unemployment, both Labour and Tory parties are agreed that an expansion of the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) is necessary, and following the July uprisings the Government expanded the scheme by 100,000 places to 550,000.

Under this programme teenagers are given the 'opportunity' to work a forty hour week and more for just £23.50. To describe this as cheap labour is to understate the case; £23.50 would barely cover the cost of a slave. The claim that this programme provides 'training' is a fraud.

'Work experience' with YOP usually means making tea, filling supermarket shelves or digging holes in the ground. It is to experience exploitation, and many leave before the end of the six month 'training' period, while those who stay are unlikely to find a permanent job at the end.

For employers the Programme is ideal, offering temporary, unorganised labour at no cost (the government pays the wages). YOP trainees are also used to replace full time, full paid workers who are laid off and made redundant or forced to suffer wage cuts. For example British Rail claims that it is overstaffed and that any pay rise would mean staff cuts, yet it offers 1,500 YOP places which could be filled by permanent workers at a full wage. A more open attempt to cut pay was the Government's announcement in July of a new scheme whereby it will pay firms employing under 18s a subsidy of £15 per week per person - providing they are earning less than £40 per week!

The Youth Opportunities Scheme is a confidence trick with a three-fold purpose: to artificially lower unemployment figures, to provide free labour for capitalists, and to dampen the rebelliousness of youth. The interests of the youth themselves are, of course, not taken into account. They are offered only false hopes, for there are no longer any real 'opportunities' in imperialist Britain.

The harsh experience of £23.50 for 40 hours work, is already being rejected by young people on YOP. On Friday 28 August in Newcastle hundreds of youth marched to protest against the miserable wage they are paid for a week's work. The trade union leadership's response to this protest is typical:

'We're not out to make this too much of an aggro job.'

Let us hope the youth teach them a lesson.

Imperialist conspiracy

Over the last decade more than 100 Irish men and women have been jailed in England. The favourite device used is the notorious conspiracy charge which poses no obstacle to the frame-ups organised against Irish people. It is no accident that the Bradford 12 are charged with conspiracy. The Bradford 12 case is designed to play exactly the same role against the oppressed in Britain as the Irish political trials have played against the Irish. The imperialist conspiracy to frame and jail Irish POWs has been thoroughly exposed in these trials. The petit bourgeois left has not only refused to support the Irish POWs but also refused to bring the lessons of their struggle to the working class—lessons which are vital today.

Provocateurs

Nothing shows up the real basis of imperialist 'justice' for the oppressed so much as the use of police agents and provocateurs.

In June 1972, six Irishmen were charged with arms offences. It was 'discovered' that the guns in question, supplied by police agent John Parker, had come from police arsenals! The charges were dropped but no action was taken against either John Parker, self-confessed perjurer, or the police who had conspired to commit a 'criminal' offence. In November 1973 three members of Sinn Féin—Sean Campbell, Phil Sheridan and Gerry Mealey—known as the Luton Three—were convicted of 'conspiring to rob persons unknown in Bletchley'. They were not accused of actually robbing anyone and no evidence was produced to show that they ever intended to rob anyone. They were the victims of a trap laid by police agent Kenneth Lennon at the instigation of Special Branch. At the trial Lennon's name and his role in the affair was concealed by the prosecution denying the defence any opportunity of contesting the basis of the police case. All three were sentenced to ten years on the concealed evidence of a police tout. Lennon went on to set up an 18-year-old Irishman Pat O'Brien.

Lennon approached Sinn Féin with a plan to free the Luton Three from Winson Green prison. Rebuffed by Sinn Féin he succeeded in entrapping Pat O'Brien in his plot. Both were arrested outside Winson Green prison whilst O'Brien was taking photographs of the prison. They were jointly charged with conspiracy to effect an escape. Pat O'Brien was jailed whilst Lennon, with the aid of Special Branch, was acquitted. Lennon later confessed his role as tout and provocateur to the NCCL. He said that the police would kill him and make it look like an IRA execution. Days later he was found dead in a ditch shot in the back of the head. Pat O'Brien was released on appeal but Lord Widgery—the man who covered up the Bloody Sunday massacre—upheld both the police use of Lennon and the concealment of his role by the prosecution. Legal niceties cannot stand between the courts and their suppression of Irish people. The murderer of Lennon has, of course, never been found.

In April 1977 John Higgins, then National Organiser of Sinn Féin Britain, was tried for offences including soliciting arms from John Banks. Banks, notorious reactionary gun-runner and ex-paratrooper, provided the 'evidence' against John Higgins. Banks' disgusting role came to light when he was organising mercenaries for the CIA-backed FNLA in Angola. Judge Griffiths-Jones gave John Higgins the maximum possible sentence of ten years.

Torture

Just as in Ireland, many of the convictions of Irish political prisoners in England rest on 'voluntary confessions' torn out of them by brutality and threats.

In October 1975 Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong, Gerry Conlon and Carole Richardson were jailed for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings in October and November 1974. The four were convicted solely on the basis of 'confessions' having been subjected to beatings, threats, sleep deprivation and denial of food. Carole Richardson had evidence that

IRISH PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The war of national liberation conducted by the Irish people against British imperialism has not been confined to Ireland. Time and again it has been brought into the heartland of British imperialism by bombing campaigns and other military actions. A growing number of Irish men and women have been jailed as a result. Many of them had no part in the actions for which they were jailed. They have been framed and jailed as part of the systematic terror conducted by the British ruling class to prevent Irish people in England from joining the war of national liberation. The trials and convictions of Irish prisoners of war in England thoroughly expose a web of lies, corruption, brutality and perjury. They have exposed the police and courts for what they are: instruments of the ruling class designed to suppress the revolt of the oppressed against rotten and decaying imperialism. The case now being manufactured against the Bradford 12 shows that the machinery perfected against the Irish will now be directed against revolutionary workers in this country who dare to fight oppression. The experience of the Irish POWs contains a wealth of warnings and lessons for the vanguard forces of the working class in this country.

when the Guildford bombing took place she was at a concert in South London. The man who came forward to provide this evidence was himself detained for two days. The evidence was ignored. No other evidence was produced connecting any of the four to either bombing. They were convicted and sentenced to life, 35 years, 30 years and detention at Her Majesty's Pleasure respectively. When Brendan Dowd and three of the Balcombe Street Four claimed the Woolwich and Guildford bombings, the appeal against the conviction of Hill, Armstrong, Conlon and Richardson was rejected. Even though forensic 'expert' for the state, Higgs, admitted that he had removed evidence relating to Woolwich and Guildford from the Balcombe Street trial at the instruction of the Bomb Squad. The chief prosecutor was Michael Havers who, having proved his worthiness in serving imperialism, is now Attorney-General.

Following the Birmingham explosions on 21 November 1974 the then Labour Government, in alliance with the bourgeois press, whipped up anti-Irish hysteria to cover the introduction of the racist anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act. In this orchestrated carnival of reaction six men—John Walker, Patrick Hill, Robert Hunter, Noel McKenny, William Power and Hugh Callaghan—were arrested. Later they were joined by Michael Murray, Michael Sheenan and James Kelly, who were charged with conspiracy. As none of the Birmingham six had anything to do with the explosions the frame-up machine went into action.

The six were repeatedly beaten by the police. They were threatened with summary execution. Mock executions using unloaded guns placed in their mouths and behind their heads were staged. They were told that mobs were outside their homes baying for the blood of their families. No doubt the rabid chauvinist hysteria which filled the gutter press helped in the mental and physical torture of these comrades. Four made statements full of inconsistencies and contradictions. But the stumbling block for the police frame-up was the fact that the six bore clear marks of the brutality used to extract the confessions.

Dr Harwood, prison doctor at Winson Green, declared that the six arrived at the prison 'black, blue, battered and bleeding'. For his naive belief that his job was to tell the truth Dr Harwood was called everything from an incompetent to a perjurer by Judge Bridge at the trial—just as Dr Irwin was smeared and slandered for exposing RUC torture in Castle-reagh. Prison officers at Winson Green themselves savagely attacked the prisoners. The result of this beating was to cover up the marks left by the police beating. All six appeared in

court bearing fresh signs of brutality but, of course, it was impossible to distinguish the screw brutality from the police brutality. The 'confessions' were admitted as evidence and all six convicted and sentenced to life.

For the oppressed fighting imperialist oppression 'justice' in an imperialist court consists of the organised lies of touts and provocateurs, police brutality, forced 'confessions' and rigged evidence. Over 100 Irish men and women are in jail as a result of such 'justice'. But Irish revolutionaries have not gone meekly to prison they have fought imperialism in its very courts. They have turned the tables on their oppressors and used the courts as forums to expose imperialist barbarity and lies before the whole working class.

Imperialist 'justice' opposed

The skilful, courageous and determined revolutionary resistance to imperialism by Irish freedom fighters is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the case of the Balcombe Street Four. The Four named after the street in which they were finally captured—used their trial to expose the Guildford and Woolwich frame-up and to reveal to the working class the political character of their struggle against imperialism.

Even before their trial they showed their understanding of imperialism and their calibre as revolutionary fighters. On 6 December 1975 the Four Joe O'Connell, Eddie Butler, Harry Duggan and Hugh Doherty—were surprised by the police during a military action. Knowing the fate that befell other Irish people on capture they decided to ensure that they would be arrested with maximum publicity to reduce the opportunity for the police to assault them, or indeed murder them. They entered a house in Balcombe Street and took a married couple hostage. On 11 December, having achieved their purpose of surrounding their capture with maximum publicity, they surrendered.

At their trial all four refused to plead. Three refused on the grounds that Guildford and Woolwich were not included in the indictment thus, right from the start, mounting the offensive against the frame-up. The fourth, Harry Duggan, refused to plead stating 'I refuse to plead because I am an Irish Republican and I know I won't get justice in an English court'. The battle opened between four revolutionaries and their oppressors.

All four used their right to challenge the jury to dismantle the rigged jury set up by the Special Branch and produce a working class jury including five women and three blacks. Throughout the trial they refused to defend themselves but concentrated solely on exposing the Guildford and Woolwich frame-up.

Their expert conduct trapped the prosecution in lie after lie. The alleged 'verbal' statements produced omitted the statements actually made claiming Guildford and Woolwich. So effectively did they expose this that prosecuting Counsel Matthews was forced to declare to the jury 'Guildford and Woolwich are not a matter for you' in a desperate effort to maintain the frame-up. By the end of the trial the prosecution attempts to maintain the frame-up were in ruins. Then Joe O'Connell made a statement from the dock which put forward the revolutionary standpoint of these comrades.

'We admit to no 'crime' and to no 'guilt' for the real crime and guilt are those of British imperialism committed against our people. The war against imperialism is a just war and it will go on, for true peace can only come about when a nation is free from oppression and injustice. Whether we are imprisoned or not is irrelevant for our whole nation is the prisoner of British imperialism. The British people who choose to ignore this or to swallow the lies of the British gutter press are responsible for the actions of their government unless they stand out against them.

As volunteers in the Irish Republican Army we have fought to free our oppressed nation from its bondage to British imperialism of which this court is an integral part.'

The jury, to the rage of the police and judge, acquitted the four on 26 of the 100 counts against them. As Judge Cantley handed out life sentences the four raised clenched fists and shouted 'Up the Provos'. To the last they demonstrated their unyielding contempt for imperialism.

True to the spirit of the Balcombe Street Four, Irish POWs have gone into prison not as passive victims of imperialist violence and repression, but as organised, politically conscious revolutionaries continuing the fight against imperialism inside the prisons themselves. The Irish POWs have set an example to the whole working class in the battle against imperialism in the courts and, as we shall see, inside the prisons.

Terry Marlowe

Acknowledgement: Much of the material used in this article is based on publications produced by the Prisoners Aid Committee. Their newspaper *Irish Prisoner* can be obtained from PAC, 2a St Pauls Road, London N1. Price 15p plus postage.



Jim Reilly, Luton Sinn Féin and Home Counties Organiser, died in hospital on Friday 26 September 1980. Jim Reilly was a lifelong revolutionary Republican fighter—working right up to the moment of his death.

His death was a direct result of the frame-up organised against him and his close comrade Gerry MacLochlainn (now serving a six year sentence). Having hounded Jim Reilly throughout his life, British imperialism succeeded in hounding him to death in September 1980.

Jim Reilly's death was a great loss both to the Republican movement and the British working class. He will always be remembered as a courageous dedicated Republican and convinced socialist. The RCG salutes the memory of comrade Jim Reilly.

REPORTS FROM IRELAND

BRITISH TERROR

In the last two months the British army and the RUC have intensified their efforts to crush support for the hunger-strikers by sheer brutality and intimidation. At the same time, and with the same end in view, loyalist gangs have restarted a terror campaign against nationalist areas of Belfast. Since the beginning of July six people, including an 81-year-old woman, have been killed by the British army in Belfast and many others seriously injured by plastic bullets or by beatings meted out by British soldiers on patrol in nationalist areas. During the same period two people have been killed and several others injured in random attacks by loyalist terror gangs on nationalist areas of Belfast.

As usual British terror and 'unofficial' loyalist terror have complemented each other, to the point where they become almost indistinguishable. Part of the assault on the nationalist working class community in Belfast over the past two months, for example, has involved an escalation of attacks on the black taxis which serve the nationalist working class community in West Belfast. Taxi-drivers have been constantly harassed by the British army and the RUC, and several have been badly beaten. Taking its cue from this escalation of British repression a loyalist gang on 11 August opened fire on a black taxi full of people. The following day the RUC and the British army blocked off the normal access route to the city centre taken by the black taxis and told the drivers that they would have to go via Sandy Row, a loyalist area. This blatant

example of collaboration between the British army, the RUC and loyalist terror gangs was only defeated when the taxi-drivers blocked off several exits from the city centre, thus causing massive traffic disruption and forcing the RUC and the British army to back down.

At about the same time the close relationship between 'official' and 'unofficial' loyalist terror could also be seen in action in the Short Strand, one of the most vulnerable nationalist ghettos in Belfast, situated as it is on the edge of loyalist East Belfast. During July and August a number of attacks were launched by loyalist gangs against the area. In the most serious incident at the beginning of August two young boys from the area were badly injured by a booby-trap bomb when they attempted to remove a Union Jack which had been flown provocatively on the edge of the

ghetto. A week later this vicious act of terror by 'unofficial' loyalist forces against the people of the Short Strand was reinforced by a wholesale invasion of the area by the 'official' loyalist forces of the UDR and the RUC. For two days the Short Strand was sealed-off and in effect put under a curfew while the UDR and the RUC went through the area searching houses, stopping and searching people repeatedly in the street, insulting and threatening the people of the area, and scrawling sectarian slogans such as 'UDA, UDR Rules' on the walls. This invasion was, however, brought to an abrupt end on the second day by a strong show of militancy by the local people who came out on to the streets in force to show that they refused to be intimidated. As the protests threatened to escalate into a major confrontation the UDR and the RUC were forced to withdraw from the area.

Across the city, in the Turf Lodge area of West Belfast, the terror tactics of the Royal Marines who had been sent in to subdue the area met with a similar response. The people again came out in force to resist the invasion of their area, many fighting back with bricks and stones. At the same time the INLA harassed the Marines with repeated attacks, keeping them off balance and preventing them from patrolling the area freely. As *Saoirse* (the

paper of the IRSP in Belfast) pointed out, 'it was a classic case of the interdependence of mass action and armed struggle' and showed what could be achieved by sustained militant activity. Over the past few weeks, therefore, the British army and the RUC have once again discovered to their cost that increased repression leads only to even stronger Republican resistance.

Belfast correspondent

HUNGER STRIKE DEMONSTRATION

ORGANISED BY SINN FEIN
(BRITAIN)

Assemble People's Park,
Luton 1.30 pm.
Saturday 26 September

Coaches from London at
Hammersmith, Kings Cross and
Kilburn.

A coach has also been organised by
South London Hunger Strike Action
Committee
to depart from Lambeth Town Hall,
Brixton at 10.30 am. and from Kings
Cross (Yorkway) at 11.15 am. Price
£3.50

ANTI INTERNMENT WEEKEND

9 August 1981 was the 10th anniversary of internment and the hunger strike was to the forefront of the people's mind. On Saturday 8 August Thomas McElwee died on hunger strike and this signalled an outbreak of fierce street rioting directed at the hated RUC and British Army which continued throughout the evening and began again at nightfall on Sunday. The Commemoration march on Sunday was attended by 8-10,000 people with thousands more lining the streets. Supporters of Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! travelled from England and Scotland to attend the weekend's events. The Troops Out Movement were also present over the weekend and were about 300-400 strong in a deceptive show of British solidarity. FRFI supporters could not recall a time when we had seen that many TOM members out on the streets of Britain during the present hunger strike.

Below is an account of the weekend by a black FRFI comrade who went to Ireland with the FRFI contingent.

When we arrived in Belfast I saw immediately that the police were well armed. They wore bullet proof vests and holsters with a gun in its rest. They watched me walk by them as I looked them up and down. I thought to myself they're all the same. If not with a riot shield and truncheon, then with a gun, they think they're God's lawgivers.

A taxi-pulled up in front of us. There were already passengers inside. One of them asked if we were going up the Falls Road. We said yes and he asked us to get in. Between the town and the Falls Road area I was able to see that the roads and paths were covered in glass and bricks, the houses derelict and crumbling, open spaces with cars and lorries burnt out. We passed the Divis flats which are constantly raided by the soldiers and the people get harassed and beaten up for standing up to this treatment.

The taxi stopped outside the Sinn Fein centre and we were charged 20p each. The taxis were running regularly because buses would not go into the Falls Road area. I experienced how the people worked together, the taxi men could have charged much more but they didn't and the people we shared a taxi with could have left us behind and kept the taxi to themselves, but they didn't.

After we had freshened up I went out with the other FRFI supporters. I noticed the streets were busy, people hurriedly walked along the paths. The children stood on street

corners and around the shop doorways as if waiting. Suddenly an armoured car appeared and everyone scattered as it passed by and a second followed. The youth came out from hiding and bombarded it with bricks, stones and paint bombs. The armoured car accelerated through the crowds of youth in its path. After leaving the Falls area you became less aware of the presence of the struggle of the Irish people. The middle class areas had no posters, murals or graffiti in support of the hunger strikers and the IRA. In the working class areas people just set up scaffolding and paint up murals and the soldiers just have to watch.

Back in the Falls area there were more youth on the streets. As I walked by I nodded and they did the same. I felt as if I was at home but here it was different. I was black and they were white but yet we felt and shared the oppression of the ruling class. They discriminated against them because they were Irish and poor, me because I was black and poor.

Many of the people who I saw attacking the armoured patrol cars were the youth, almost anyone who could make anything that was useful was fighting. I remember I saw a bunch of children who if they had been in England probably would have been playing with a football or go-cart. But instead these kids were squabbling as to who should do what in making up petrol bombs.

As we walked home, an armoured patrol

car slowed down and the door opened. We stopped to see what would happen and the driver leaned out and shouted 'You f...ing black bastard. The soldier standing in the back shouted to me 'Don't say you're Irish as well!' To this I said 'I f...ing am, what about it?'

That night we sat in a room talking to some of the youth. To me it was clear to them that they knew why they are fighting with the troops, even though it could mean imprisonment. But this threat of British imperialism does not frighten them because they are prisoners in their own country. Although some people would want to protest peacefully they understood violence because they had been taught by the most ruthless teacher - British imperialism.

I spent most of the night being interrogated by them because they were keen to know of the fightback in England.

At the end of the discussions, I know the only way that British imperialism will survive in Ireland is if they slaughter all the Irish people and it is clear to me that they are beginning to do this. The majority of people understand that in Ireland there is a war, a revolution, a living revolution with every new born boy or girl that person will grow up a revolutionary from the first breath of air polluted by British imperialism which surrounds and oppresses the life of each person.

That night I was awakened from my sleep because I could hear whistles and what sounded like the battering on riot shields from stones. What I saw was, as this expression fits it, all hell let loose, the streets were burning from petrol bombs and fire walls of barricades which the army could not get through. The people were shouting screaming and fighting. In the distance the army stood with riot shields firing their guns upon the youth.

I felt I should have been out there with them fighting the British troops, but I know that my fight was in England where the troops are from.

The more I spoke to the people, the more I

understood their way of living. They hated the troops, they hate patriotic supporters of the British and they hate the racists in Ireland and other countries. But amongst themselves they are caring, and loving and with people like myself, black and poor, there was a common bond. I didn't feel that I had to adapt in any way to stay amongst them. I felt as though I was amongst black people.

During the march each section would stop in front of the police station and make all the noise they could. The march was over three miles long. I said to a youth that it was the biggest march I had been on. He said it was the smallest he had been on. On the march as I sold the paper it was heartening to see that the people would buy the paper because they had read it before or it was recommended to them by their friends. And even when they were in groups I found that they would buy a paper but not say 'We'll share it' but they would all buy one each. When people saw the paper being sold they would call me over to buy one. I sold out of papers three times. When the crowd gathered together to listen to the speakers I spoke to many of the youth. The majority were very interested in the fighting in England. They told me that we could call on them for any help.

When we set off for England I wanted to wear the badges I had bought in support of the hunger strikers. I was advised that this might make trouble getting past the guards but I didn't care because I was prepared to fight for the right of the Irish people, the right of all oppressed people.

It is difficult to put down on paper the feeling of the people in Ireland or even to talk about it. I know and I feel the same as the youth there that though many people have tried to reform the imperialists it cannot be done. The imperialists keep their rule over the oppressed by using violence as the best method of communicating to them that they are not going to be free. So the only way forward for the Irish youth is to do what they do best, fight. And they will fight to the death as they have done.

The uprisings over here show that the youth, black and white, will not try, as the hapless petit bourgeois left have tried and failed, to reform and make the capitalist system work for the poor. The youth will and must destroy the imperialist system.

GH

RCG-FRFI MONTHLY Round-up

The Hunger Strike Campaign in Britain

Over the last two months RCG comrades and FRFI supporters have been working throughout the country to organise support for the hunger strikers.

Scotland

In Edinburgh, RCG and FRFI supporters organised a public meeting in a local school on 22 July. 40 people attended including Iranian and Palestinian comrades.

In Livingston: a new town twenty miles from Edinburgh, 20 people attended a joint RCG/Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee meeting. A similar meeting in New Mills—a small town in Fife—produced a group of four local people who decided to get together and produce a leaflet on the hunger strike to give out in the town.

South London

20 or 30 people regularly gather at the South London Hunger Strike Action Committee street meetings in Brixton. The Saturday following the second uprising over 70 people gathered, the majority being black workers and youth.

On Saturday 29 August the street meeting received a great boost when the mother, two sisters and two brothers of an Irish POW in England took part in the meeting.

POLICE ATTACK FRFI

Cases are still outstanding (and new ones happen every month) in Leeds, South London, Glasgow and Dundee—

A Manchester supporter has been fined with costs — £200

We urgently need your support. Make cheques payable to: FRFI/HOI Defence Campaign, and send to BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

BECOME A FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! SUPPORTER

If you are willing to help the work which FRFI is doing, become an FRFI supporter.

We need more people to sell FRFI and to involve others in the fightback. We need more people writing for FRFI about their local struggles and campaigns.

Fill in your name and address on the form below, and send £5. You will receive a supporter card, a year's subscription to FRFI and details of all our activities in your area and nationally. (Postal orders and cheques payable to Larkin Publications)

Name
Address

Send this form to Larkin Publications
BCM Box 5909 London WC1

North London

In the July and August period the NLHSAC organised no less than 10 activities including street meetings, pickets, rallies and a highly successful demonstration. Over 100 people joined the march from Archway to Islington, keeping up a non-stop series of chants demanding Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now! The great majority of marchers came from the local working class and included a group of Irish youth who had taken part in the street fighting in Dublin.

Manchester/Liverpool

At a meeting during the Warrington by-election Manchester and Liverpool FRFI supporters heckled Michael Foot demanding to know why the Labour Party was supporting the murder of Irish hunger strikers. A large banner proclaiming Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now! was unfurled.

Elsewhere in the country, in Leeds, Birmingham, Cardiff and Bristol, FRFI supporters have been active in mobilising support for local committees and events and national demonstrations.

Throughout the country RCG and FRFI supporters have worked with anyone and everyone prepared to fight and fight hard to build the movement which is so urgently needed. We appeal to all those genuinely seeking to build such a campaign to contact FRFI and join with us in this the most urgent task facing the British working class today.

ADVERTISE ON THIS PAGE

RCG, FRFI GROUPS
ANTI IMPERIALIST
ORGANISATIONS
Advertise your meetings
Send us reports of your activities
TO ARRIVE BY MONDAY 28 SEPTEMBER

VIDEO FILMS

1 hour-long video
IRELAND'S HUNGER STRIKE
available from
Glasgow Hunger Strike Action
Committee
Write for details to GHSAC c/o Box 15
43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh

VICTORY TO THE HUNGER STRIKERS POLITICAL STATUS NOW!

FILM SHOW — 'IRELAND'S HUNGER STRIKE'
THURSDAY 17 SEPTEMBER 1981 — CITY HALLS, ALBION STREET — 7.30pm
ORGANISED BY GLASGOW HUNGER STRIKE ACTION COMMITTEE

FRFI SUPPORTERS GROUPS

BRADFORD
Meets fortnightly at
Conference Hall Queens Hall
Morley, Bradford
Next meeting 17 September
7.30pm

LIVERPOOL
Meets fortnightly on Tuesday at
AUEW Hall, Liverpool
7.30pm

EDINBURGH and GLASGOW
Contact RCG Box 40,
43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh
for details



Dundee 29 August Demonstration

Dundee

Hunger Strike activity in Dundee has taken great strides since the 40-strong public meeting on 1 July at which the film 'Ireland's Hunger Strike' was shown. A Hunger-Strike Action Committee has been formed and had its first demonstration on August 29 (see report below). The Committee was also invited to speak at a meeting of the AUEW Junior Works Committee at the end of August. The speech was very favourably received and the Works Committee has decided to support Political Status Now and call for Victory to the Hunger Strikers.

Crowds of shoppers in Dundee city centre were roused to the sound of over a hundred demonstrators militantly declaring their support for the hunger strikers on Saturday 29 August. The march was predominantly working class youth from Dundee with support also coming from Fife, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Iranian students from Dundee and Edinburgh turned out in strength. The militancy of the demonstration was a result of the uncompromising stand of the Dundee committee and

the working class supporters of the Republican movement in declaring 'Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now!'

Leeds Demonstration

On 29 July, the day when British imperialism married off two of its richest parasites, 400 people marched through the streets of Leeds in support of Irish prisoners of war on hunger strike for political status. Supporters of the march came from all over: London, Cardiff, Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, Nottingham, Wolverhampton, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. With the single exception of Nottingham, RCG and FRFI were responsible for mobilising this support from outside Leeds.

The noisy and militant demonstration attracted great sympathy from bystanders as it passed through Chapeltown, scene of one of the recent wave of risings throughout Britain. Black youths marched alongside the demonstration. Black and white workers standing on the pavements waved and cheered as West Indian, Asian, Irish, Iranian and British workers marched shoulder to shoulder demanding Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now!



Leeds 29 July Demonstration

STREET MEETINGS

LEEDS

Saturday 26 September 11am
Outside Grandways Supermarket
Roundhay Road, Leeds 8

MANCHESTER

Saturday 12 September 11am
Moss Side Shopping Precinct

DUNDEE

Every Saturday in City Centre from 2-3pm
Organised by Dundee Hunger Strike Action Committee which meets weekly on Wednesday evenings to plan work. For details write to DHSAC c/o Box 15, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

GLASGOW

Street Meetings every Saturday
Organised by Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee which meets every Monday to plan work. For details write to GHSAC c/o Box 15, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

EDINBURGH

Leafletting every Saturday
from 11am to 3pm
at East end of Princess Street

SOUTH LONDON

Every Saturday outside Prince of Wales,
Brixton Road. 2.30-4pm.
Organised by South London Hunger Strike Action Committee

FOR SALE

● HANDS OFF IRELAND BADGES (Red on Green) 25p + 12p p&p. 2 or more post free.
● MARX AND ENGELS on Ireland and the Irish Question (hardback) £3 + £1 p&p.
● JAMES CONNOLLY Labour in Irish History 50p + 15p p&p.
● JAMES CONNOLLY Ireland on the Dissecting Table 60p + 15p p&p.
ORDERS PAYABLE TO LARKIN PUBLICATIONS, FRFI, BCM BOX 5909 LONDON WC1N 3XX

PUBLIC MEETING

Organised by South London Hunger Strike Action Committee.
VICTORY TO THE HUNGER STRIKERS!
POLITICAL STATUS NOW!
Lambeth Town Hall
7.30pm. Thursday 15 October

SOUTH LONDON DEMONSTRATION VICTORY TO THE HUNGER STRIKE POLITICAL STATUS NOW

SATURDAY 17 OCTOBER
FURTHER DETAILS FROM: SLHSAC,
8M BOX 4853, WC1N 3XX

INTERNATIONAL DAY AGAINST FASCISM

Sunday 13 September 1981 — DEMONSTRATION
2pm — ASSEMBLE with banners in Devonshire St, London
Deliver protest letters to the Ambassadors of Chile, El Salvador and Turkey.
March to Camden Centre near King's Cross.

5pm — RALLY at the Camden Centre, Bidborough St, London WC1
Chair: Ernie Roberts MP. Speakers: Ken Livingstone, GLC Leader
Roberto Vargas, FDR and Bob Wright, AUEW Assistant General Secretary
7pm — SOLIDARITY CONCERT at the Camden Centre (see above)
Pueblo (Chile), Raul Valencia (Chile) and Melike Demirag (Turkey). Tickets £1.50
Organised jointly by: Chilean Anti-Fascist Committee, Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey and El Salvador Solidarity Campaign,
13 September Committee, 29 Parkfield St, London N1

LETTERS

Armed struggle the only way

A Chara,
May I point out that Mr Bert Ward's suggestion that the Provisional IRA should cease to be militarily active on the streets of this false state of Northern Ireland is little short of ridiculous. Does he not realise that the British Government, in collaboration with the Unionist population, created this state to suit their own needs? There can be no political solution – the British have brought that on their own heads and are now experiencing the results of their oppressive scheming.

Secondly, if the Provisionals were to seek a political solution, they would, in effect, be recognising Northern Ireland as a real state and the British Government as their overlords. This, of course, is totally unacceptable to the Nationalist people living in the occupied six counties, and thus, the struggle for National Liberation must be and shall be continued in the only effective means remaining – armed revolution.

Yours Faithfully
DC
Belfast

Support for Leeds 3

A Chara,
We received your letter of appeal on August 11 re the Leeds 3 Defence Campaign. We have not had until now a full discussion on the campaign as we are bogged down in almost total

solidarity work for the Irish Hunger strikers. This means that all of our Komitee meetings are tied up with co-ordination work. We have passed on your letter to several support groups of ours here in the BRD and fronts that we sit on here eg the Anti-Imperialist Front, Frankfurt. In relation to funds, at this time we find ourselves under great pressure also to carry the work here forward, as we also lack funds. I would like however to send a small amount myself as I find the campaign worthy of support in the face of great reaction from the British Govt to all progressive and anti-imperialist groups.

Yours in solidarity
Is Mise
Frank Gallagher
Anti-H Block Committee,
West Germany

Great credit

A Chara,
Delighted to hear FRFI is to become a monthly in September, I will look forward to that.

I would like to say your support of the Irish struggle is tremendous. It deserves great credit, when one thinks of the way the many 'Socialist' parties rally round the British establishment in the war in Ireland.

There is no doubt that any struggle to set up a revolutionary communist state in Ireland or Britain would involve more than a fight with the capitalist establishment, for there is no doubt whose side the 'Pink Socialists' would take in the said struggle.

Yours
WR
Dundalk

SWP says internationalism can wait

Dear FRFI,
I am writing to let you know about a very important and damning statement which I heard from the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party concerning their attitude to the Irish liberation struggle.

I attended a debate between Duncan Hallas of the SWP's Central Committee and a Labour Party councillor in Edinburgh on 20 August. The debate was entitled 'Which Way Forward to Socialism'. Both speakers didn't have a clue but the most important revelation came when I spoke about the need to side with the oppressed and Irish revolutionary freedom fighters. Duncan Hallas replied that there was 'no popular support in Britain' for Irish freedom. He went on to say that because of that we couldn't do anything on the streets until the British working class itself was strengthened. He elaborated that by 'building up the British working class spirit' (through fighting redundancies, for wage rises etc) the working class of this country could one day(!) become strong enough to play an international role. Then socialists would get a hearing for the Irish. Hallas concluded by saying that taking up 'internationalist' issues was a way of ducking responsibility to the British working class! He ended by quoting the example of Geoffrey Drain of the NALGO trade union leadership selling out his own members while at

the same time supporting Chile Solidarity. The entire stunning statement was received in silence by the audience who were mostly SWP supporters, – when in fact Hallas should have been booed off the platform for his disgusting Little Englander mentality.

The idea that the British working class can build itself up then liberate the Irish was rejected by Marx in 1868 as pointed out in the 'Communist Tradition on Ireland' in FRFI 7. The fact of the matter is that the British working class will never be strong unless the right of the Irish people to self-determination is placed right at the heart of its activity. Hallas's statement is merely justification for what the SWP already does. The SWP has not campaigned for the hunger strikers and has never supported any demonstration in Scotland called to support them. Hallas lies when he says there is no popular support for the hunger strikers. If the SWP had been on recent demonstrations and events then they might have realised this. Hallas and the SWP have set the seal on both their betrayal of the Irish liberation struggle and the British revolution. FRFI was right when the SWP got the national chauvinist award for their slogan 'Neither Moscow nor Washington'... 'But Great Britain' was a fitting addition.

Gary Clapton
Edinburgh

SEND US YOUR NEWS

We welcome letters from readers. Please keep them as short as you can

Please note our new address is:
FRFI
BCM Box 5909,
London WC1N 3XX

Visit to Armley

Dear FRFI,
I recently went to visit a friend on remand in Armley Gaol. FRFI already publicises what happens in prisons but you should also publicise what happens to visitors to prisons.

Everything is done to humiliate the visitor. Armley is a huge fortress like building. The visitor first goes into a Portakabin, a hot tiny little caravan in which families are forced to queue up. Then after queueing for half an hour you get to the desk where two screws take your particulars. Then you get to queue number 2 – outside the gates. Whilst waiting there for another half hour screws parade around – at Armley they are the usual big bellied, thuggish looking specimens. Then they let you in and you pass through a whole load of screws who eye you with hostility and make jokes to each other, and you join queue number 3 to hand in your supplies to the prisoner. These are fingered and examined. Writing pads are flicked through, and hostile and sarcastic remarks greet any questions you ask.

Then you wait for ages for the name of the prisoner to be called. You wait in a damp, smelly and disgusting room which when it rains lets water pour in.

Finally you get in to see the prisoner. A large hall with one long table at each wall has all the prisoners seated, one right next to another. You have no privacy, you are crammed up against whoever is visiting the prisoner on either side. And after all this you get 15 minutes in which you are too pressured to remember all that there is to say.

And these are remand prisoners – not yet even tried. Prison is built to break the prisoners and in the process it tries to degrade and humiliate his family and friends.
(Name and address supplied)

TUC imperialism

Dear comrades,
I wonder if you could arrange to send me in future 15 copies of FRFI every month?

The short article in FRFI 11 concerning the TUC's investment in imperialism was I thought extremely pertinent. Despite their 'TUC Hands off Ireland' campaign the RCT (P) are extremely reluctant to define the TUC as a pro-imperialist organisation. For example over the Coventry conference the RCT (P) were quick to repudiate the 'accusation' from the TUC that conference literature had categorised the TUC as 'imperialist aggressors'. (A fairly accurate description of the TUC!) No, all the conference leaflets accused the TUC of was 'complicity in British repression'

(the next step, No. 11, page 11.)

In the pamphlet 'TUC Hands off Ireland!' it is not even the TUC as such which is at fault but its 'Irish policy'. 'TUC Irish policy is simply a cover for its complicity in British repression throughout the Irish War.' (back page).

However the FRFI article (No 11, page 12) shows that the TUC is not merely mistaken over the Irish question but is an integral part of imperialism. This seems to me to throw doubt on the worthwhile possibilities of a campaign to promote a 'change in TUC Irish policy'. (tns 11, page 11).

fraternally,
EH
Nottingham

FRFI NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT TO GROW

We've made it! **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** is now a monthly paper and that much better equipped to lead the fight against British imperialism. Our thanks to all those comrades who have put in the hard work and financial support to make this great step forward possible. The fight is now on to expand the monthly circulation and to extend our political work. Costs of producing FRFI are rising and the paper's new office still needs new equipment.

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HANDS OFF IRELAND!

THE HUNGER STRIKE

Murdered hunger strikers

Bobby Sands
Francis Hughes
Raymond McCreesh
Patsy O'Hara
Joe McDonnell
Martin Hurson
Kevin Lynch
Kieran Doherty
Tom McElwee
Michael Devine

On hunger strike

Liam McCluskey
Pat Sheehan
Jackie McMullan
Bernard Fox
Hugh Carville
John Pickering

FIVE MORE MURDERS

Since FRFI No11 appeared five more Irish freedom fighters have been murdered in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh concentration camp:

Martin Hurson, 30, died 8 July 1981 after 46 days on hunger strike;
Kevin Lynch, 25, died 1 August 1981 after 71 days on hunger strike;
Kieran Doherty, 25, died 2 August 1981 after 73 days on hunger strike;
Tom McElwee, 23, died 8 August 1981 after 62 days on hunger strike;
Michael Devine, 27, died 20 August 1981 after 60 days on hunger strike.

British imperialism has now murdered ten Irish Republican freedom fighters in the present hunger strike for political status. Blood-stained imperialism has shown that it will go to any lengths to deny political status to Irish POWs. Not only murdering prisoners but shooting down the people on the streets with plastic bullets.

The unbroken resistance of the Irish people continues. The people have shown both in the attack on the Gardai in Dublin on 18 July and in the increased vote for Owen Carron in the Fermanagh/South Tyrone byelection on 20 August their solid support for the liberation struggle and for political status.

The prisoners have proved that no amount of barbarity will break them, nor trickery fool

them. Ten Irish revolutionaries have proven this giving their lives in the campaign for political status. The prisoners who steadily join the hunger strike as their comrades are murdered also prove it.

The Revolutionary Communist Group hails the indomitable spirit and courage of the murdered hunger strikers. Their example will live on wherever the oppressed take up the historic struggle to destroy imperialism. The RCG sends its deepest sympathy and condolences to the families, comrades and friends of Martin Hurson, Kevin Lynch, Kieran Doherty, Tom McElwee and Michael Devine.

**Victory to the hunger strikers!
Political status now!**

BY-ELECTION VICTORY

Owen Carron's magnificent victory in the Fermanagh-South Tyrone by-election was in some ways even more significant than that of Bobby Sands in April, confirming as it did that the vote for Bobby Sands had not been simply a temporary emotional response but had in fact indicated clear popular support for the demands of the hunger-strikers. Not only did Owen Carron gain ever more votes and a larger majority but he did so in the face of interventions by the Alliance Party and the Workers Party Republican Clubs – both staunch allies of British imperialism in Ireland – which were clearly designed to split the nationalist vote.

At the same time those campaigning in support of Owen Carron were subjected to harassment and intimidation by the RUC and UDR, and on the election day itself many nationalist voters on their way to the polling stations were harassed and delayed by the RUC. The fact that Owen Carron won the election despite all these obstacles only served to intensify the dismay of the loyalists. The defeated loyalist candidate, Ken Maginnis, and his supporters took refuge in claims that Owen Carron's supporters had engaged in widespread impersonation and had 'abused

the democratic process'. Apart from the fact that no evidence was produced to support these accusations, such claims were supremely ironic coming as they did from loyalists who for 60 years have maintained their power and privileges through the most blatant electoral gerrymandering and sectarian discrimination. The amount of respect which loyalists have for 'the democratic process' was demonstrated only a few days after the election when a bomb destroyed the home of Owen Carron's brother, an attack which evoked no condemnation from Ken Maginnis or any other loyalist politician.

IRISH POW'S SPEAK

A Chara,

The following is a Communique which we feel will be taken as a token of thanks to all those who have pulled together in support of our fellow comrades in the H Blocks of Long Kesh, at present being dragged through deaths door by a power totally lacking in compassion.

Even after 10 deaths we find it absurd that there are still some people who think these deaths are for 'petty' trivial prison reforms, when in fact what is happening in the Blocks goes to the very core of the whole Irish struggle. For some years the 'war machine' has been engaged in a brutal policy within the prisons (and towards the POW's held in English prisons) in the foolish thinking that if they break the prisoners mentally then those on the streets engaged in the armed struggle will fear the prisons, to such an extent that the struggle will die on the streets. They have been only too happy to know the Irish people have been getting the facts of the brutality and inhumane treatment from inside the prisons. This insane logic is now in action on the streets itself, with men, women and children being battered with plastic bullets. The message is stark, do not question our rule, and do not protest, if you do so we will batter you senseless and slay your children on the streets. To those engaged in the armed struggle, do not resist, for if you are captured we will break your body and destroy your mind. What is in progress now is not a cold Mrs Thatcher vs. the prisoners, but a war machine out to smash the resistance of the whole nationalist people.

Mrs Thatcher does not seriously believe that people will accept her verbal nonsense 'there are no special category prisoners'. There are in fact around 250 such prisoners in this country, around 80 of which are POWs, though these 80 or so are in a category within the Special Category 'A', because they receive visits different from Category 'A' men. The Irish POWs are in fact 'Special Category "A" Plus!!'

The whole phase of what is happening in the prisons is special because in the final analysis, perhaps as many as 95% of those imprisoned would not have seen the inside of any prison, were it not for the fact that they happen to be Irishmen resisting an alien power oppressing them. Because it is not the wrongs and crimes punishable by law that cause the greatest evil in the world, it is the lawful wrongs and unpunishable crimes, stifled and protected by law and government. They fill the earth with misery and want, with strife and conflict, with class struggle, slaughter and destruction.

Thatcher will not break the people's will in Ireland, nor will it ever be broken. If anything all she has done is unite the masses. When she murdered Bobby Sands she killed a man who pulled a bigger mandate than she had at the polls. 100,000 people buried Bobby Sands. When Thatcher dies she will be buried like the insignificant 'thing' that she is.

Once again we wish to thank the people for the constant support shown, the people of all races and creeds. And we wish to say the 'machine' does not have cells cold or brutal enough to break the will that will not be broken.

There is only one answer to the question, 'what can be done to better the penal system', nothing. A prison cannot be improved, with the exception of a few unimportant little improvements. There is absolutely nothing to do but demolish it!! (Peter Kropotkin)

PRO Republican POWs Wormwood Scrubs

SERVANT OF IMPERIALISM

When Garret FitzGerald became Prime Minister of the 26 Counties at the beginning of July he announced that his top priority was to secure a resolution of the hunger strike. It was clear from the beginning, however, that his concern arose not from any humanitarian feelings but from his awareness that the hunger strike had done more to arouse revolutionary nationalist feeling in the 26 Counties, especially among the working class youth, than anything else in the last ten years. His aim was therefore to bring the hunger strike to an end as soon as possible in the hope that this re-awakened spirit among the working class youth could be dampened down again.

At the same time the economic dependence of the ruling class of the 26 Counties on the British ruling class meant that there could be no question of the government of the 26 Counties backing the demands of the hunger-strikers in opposition to the British government. Accordingly, the demands made on FitzGerald that he should expel the British ambassador and recall the Irish ambassador from London until the demands of the hunger-strikers have been granted have predictably proved utterly futile – indeed, as if to underline the craven subservience of the government of the 26 Counties, the Irish ambassador actually attended the royal wedding on 29 July while Irish prisoners lay dying in the H-Blocks.

The criticism directed at the British government by the Free State government early in July, in the aftermath of the abortive intervention by the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, simply reflected its acute disappointment that the hunger strike, with all its 'de-

stabilising' effects in the 26 Counties, had not after all been resolved. Any doubts as to where FitzGerald and the Free State government stood in relation to the hunger strike, must have been quickly removed by the actions of the government in the following weeks: attacking the Republican Movement, and attempting to undermine the resolve of the relatives of the hunger-strikers. Ten days after the death of Joe McDonnell, the unity between the Free State government and the British government was clearly shown in Dublin, when police protecting the British embassy launched a savage attack on an H-Blocks demonstration, leaving many of the marchers seriously injured, after it had tried to break through the police lines. Not only did FitzGerald state emphatically that he fully supported the actions of the police in attacking the marchers, but it was also later revealed that police from the 26 Counties were now receiving riot control training from the RUC to enable them to deal with such demonstrations more effectively in the future.